00088369

15:8 cms

TATA 3177

168p. + xviii + 74p. + 73p. + x + 87p. + 64p.

Title :- Narrative of a visit to the court of Sinde at Hyderabad on the Indus

Author :- James Burnes

Place of Publication :- Bombay

Processed at
The Preservation & conservation
Laboratory of
The Asiatic Society of Bombay
Date. March-04

Publisher :- Government of India

Year :- 1839

Digitized with financial assistance from the Government of Maharashtra on 16 January, 2016

954.447
Bur/Nar
88369

Keywords;-1Travel- Hyderaba
Court of Sinde

00088369

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF DURHAM, G. C. B.

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK IS GRATEFULLY

INSCRIBED BY THE

AUTHOR.

88369

# INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

*Bhooj Residency, 10th June* 1828.

To the British Political Resident in Cutch.

Sir,—I have the honor to submit to you some observations on my late visit to Sinde, together with a few remarks, which may probably be considered of importance, on the actual government of that country. As I have had an opportunity which no European officer ever before enjoyed, of being intimately acquainted with their Highnesses the Ameers, and as I was at some pains, during my residence at their capital, to ascertain their character and habits, I am not without the hope of bringing to the notice of government some new and interesting particulars regarding the singularly constituted court of Hyderabad.

I was indeed allowed little leisure for writing while in Sinde; and as I left that country under an impression that I should immediately return to it, I was less minute in my inquiries than I should have otherwise been; though I had nevertheless collected a small stock of information, which I flattered myself might be of some importance to government. Since my return to Cutch, however, I have had an opportunity, through your kindness, of perusing several documents on the subject of Sinde, and I have been

surprised to find, that most of the matter relative to its history, resources, &c. which I proposed to communicate as new, is already on record, in a form which I have no expectation of equalling, in the various reports of Messrs. Crow, Seton, and Ellis, and also in Pottinger's Travels in Belochistan.

Under these circumstances, I fear that little more remains for me, than to give a mere personal narrative of my proceedings. But, even in pursuing this apparently easy course, I shall encounter some difficulty. An official form is certainly no the best suited for detailing the impressions mad upon my mind, by the scenes through which I passed; nor ought these probably to constitute the subject of the following pages. Still, as government, by their letter of the 23d April last, have left the nature of my report in a great measure to myself, I must rely on the kind consideration of the Honourable the Governor, to pardon the introduction of matter, which, although unnecessary in a public point of view, may not, I hope, be devoid of interest to himself and h colleagues.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES BURNES, M. I
Residency Surgeon.

# PREFACE.

The following narrative, which consists simply of an official report on a country till of late years little known, was originally printed, at the public expense, by the Government in India, and first issued from the press at Bombay in 1830. During the following year it was republished in England, and attracted a degree of consideration which had never been anticipated, having been not only warmly praised in many of the foreign and British periodicals, but even partly incorporated into some of the great standard works of the day. The second edition has long been exausted; and, considering the interest that has lately been directed to the regions bordering on the Indus, it is believed that a third will not prove unacceptable to the public.

When the author indulged in the speculations which will be found in this volume, he little foresaw that his visit to Sinde would be followed by such a train of stirring events, in reference to the Indus, as the course of ten years has developed. In 1831, the river was successfully navigated, from the Ocean to Lahore, by his Brother;—during 1832–3 and 4, negotiations were in progress, and treaties entered into with the Ameers,

under the direction of Colonel Pottinger, for the free opening of it as a channel of trade; and in the end of 1835, Messrs. Heddle and Wood had the gratification of exhibiting to the astonished natives of Hyderabad the first steam-boat that had ever entered the Indus. Vessels laden with rich wares from Bombay and Moultan, have now hailed each other on its waters; and while the bazars of Western India are already teeming with the shawls of Cashmere, and the products of the Punjab, received by the long forbidden route, not only from private speculators, but in large investments from Maharaja Runjeet Sing himself, the recent engagements concluded at the Court of Lahore, and the intended elevation, as now announced, of a prince selected by the Governor-General, to the throne of Cabul, accompanied, as it must be, by the occupation of the countries bordering on the Indus by British armies, will leave us little to wish for in the extension of our power along the whole course of that river, and render it certain that, ere long, the manufactures of Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham, will be as common in Bokhara, Candahar, and Samarkand, as in the chief cities of Europe and Anglo-Asia.

Since the Narrative was first submitted to Government, many important changes have taken place in the Court of Sinde; and death has been busy in the halls of the Ameers. As stated in the original postscript to the work, Meer Kurm Ali Khan died soon after the author's visit; and, in October 1833, Meer Mourad Ali Khan, the

last of the four brothers who founded the Talpoor dynasty in Sinde, also passed from this mortal stage. In 1832, the Vizier, Wullee Mahommed Khan Lagharee, dropped into the grave full of years and honour, having retained the confidence of his masters, and the love of the people, to the last. To give an idea of the wealth of a Beloche chief of the highest rank, it may be added, that the whole annual revenue of the possessions transmitted to his heir did not exceed £3000 sterling. His death left the arena open to his supple adversary, Meer Ismail Shah, who, aided by his sons, still pursues an active career of ambition, sharing, with Mirza Khooshroo Beg, the chief influence at Court. Bahadoor Khan Cokur, "the bravest of the Beloches," has likewise perished; and, amongst others who have been swept away in the stream of fate, we may enumerate Meer Sohrab Khan, Meer Thara Khan, and his son Meer Ali Mourad, Kheir Mahommed Khan Tora, Ghoolam-Ulla Khan Lagharee, and Moonshee Khoosheram, all stubborn supporters of the opinions of the olden time. The removal of so many stern opponents of the British power, together with the death of the old Ameers, has no doubt paved the way to the arrangement lately promulgated by the Governor-General, for the appointment of a permanent British Resident, in the person of Colonel Pottinger, at the Court of Hyderabad.

Consistent to the last in prosecuting the original policy of his house, of avoiding all political communication with Europeans, and striving to

maintain a national independence apart from that mighty power, whose gigantic strides filled his mind with constant apprehension, Meer Mourad Ali Khan only yielded reluctantly to the force of circumstances in entering into the proposals for opening the Indus, but expired before the arrangements for that purpose were completed, leaving it for others of a different spirit and age to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the new allies. At the period of his death, Shah Shuja Ool Moolk was at the head of an army at Shikarpoor, engaged in one of his many attempts to recover the crown of Cabul; and to this circumstance, those who had prognosticated great commotions in Sinde on the demise of the Ameer, attribute the non-fulfilment of their anticipations. The government, in truth, devolved quietly on his two sons, Meers Noor Mahommed Khan and Nusseer Khan, who in co-operation with their relatives, Meers Mahommed Khan and Sobdar Khan, have ever since carried it on, so that we have thus again the country of Sinde ruled, as of yore, by four Ameers.

The military establishments, and also the revenues, with the exception of a portion set apart for the support of the dignity of the Hyderabad durbar or court, are equally divided amongst these princes; nor do the present potentates of Sinde, now no longer Beloche barbarians, appear unworthy of comparison with their predecessors, in the one grand redeeming virtue of the Talpoor family, to which it owes its prolonged power and existence, their attachment to each other.—The

how can we account for Meer Nusseer Khan's moderation under the greatest temptations. This chief, now in the prime of life, is still the universal favorite; liberal, intelligent, and cheerful; he has become extremely fond of the society of Europeans, and has much in his power for good or evil, yet his whole energies and influence are directed to the support of the joint government, and the two brothers have been lately described to me by an officer serving on the frontier as "devotedly attached to each other." From their characters, Meers Mahommed Khan and Sobdar Khan are less prominent; but it is in the power of both, and especially of the latter, who has always had a strong Beloche party in the country, to give loose to ambition, and the fact of their not having done so is corroborative of the opinions which have been expressed in this volume.

No attempt has been made by the author to alter materially the following Narrative, so far as relates to the detail of circumstances connected with his visit to Hyderabad; but some mistakes have been corrected, and he has in the present edition availed himself of various public records and manuscript reports, obtained either from official sources, or through the favour of the Geographical Society of Bombay, but which are not generally within the reach of the English reader, to introduce some recent information on the statistics of Sinde, which will be found in the Appendix, or added in the form of notes. Instead of the maps and memoir, &c. that accompanied the second edition, a new map, comprising

the recent discoveries, has now been appended to the narrative. For the drawings attached to this volume, the author is indebted to his accomplished friends, Captains W. C. Harris, and E. P. DelHoste, of the Bombay Army.

Bombay, *April* 1839.

# CONTENTS.

## VISIT TO COURT OF SINDE, &c.


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| The Invitation from the Ameers to visit the Court of Sinde, | 1 |
| Historical Sketch of the Country, | 9 |
| Journey of the Author, | 20 |
| Reception at the Court of Hyderabad, | 33 |
| Success of the Author's Cure on Meer Mourad Ali, | 43 |
| The Princes, | 49 |
| The Government, | 63 |
| Religion, | 68 |
| Habits, Armour, &c. | 80 |
| Conversation and Sport, | 88 |
| The Courtiers, | 97 |
| The Country, | 107 |
| The People, | 115 |
| Animal Productions, | 121 |
| Vegetable Productions, | 129 |
| Architecture, | 132 |
| Revenues, Jurisprudence, and Commerce, | 138 |
| Military Force, | 145 |
| Departure of the Author on his return to Bombay, | 150 |
| The Indus, | 157 |


## SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF CUTCH.


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Introductory Letter, | iii–iv |
| Preface, Geographical Observations, &c. | v–xviii |

SECTION I. PAGE

Outline of the History of Cutch before the British connection, . . . . . 1

SECTION II.

From the commencement of the British connection to the conclusion of the Treaty of 1816, . . . . 13

SECTION III.

From the conclusion of the Treaty of 1816 to the conclusion of the Treaty of 1819, . . . . . 43

## APPENDIX.

No. I.

Colonel Pottinger's Arrangements for the Navigation of the Indus, . . . . . 1

No. II.

Practical Notes on the Trade to the Indus, and the Navigation of that River; and . . . . . 14

No. III.

On the Commerce of Shikarpoor and Upper Sinde: By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, . . . 20

No. IV.

On the Trade of Cabul: By Mr. Charles Masson, . 41

No. V.

Abstract of Proceedings relative to the Trade on the Indus: By George Adam, Esq. . . . . 60

No. VI.

Additional Information on the Sinde Tribes of Sumrah and Sammah: Drawn up for the Author by his Friend, James Bird, Esq. F.R.G.S. 1838.—Bombay . . 70

# GEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SINDE,

By Lieutenant-Colonel
SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, F. R. S.

The country watered by the Indus is called Sinde. This is also the name given to that river itself by the inhabitants. The designation is ancient, since Arrian mentions Sindomana. To speak generally, that country, from the ocean to the confluence of the Punjab rivers with the Indus, bears the name of Sinde. That is, from the latitude of about 23° to 29° north, and from 67° to 71° east longitude. The banks of the Indus, however, as high as Sungur, which is in about 31° north, are sometimes called Sinde. Without this addition, the area of the country includes about 100,000 square miles. On the south it has for its boundaries the province of Cutch and the ocean; on the east it has Rajwarra, or the country of the Rajpoots, as also the Daoodpootras; on the north it has the Punjab and Cutch Gundava. On the west lies Beloochistan, from which it is separated by the lofty mountains of Hala.

The most striking geographical feature of Sinde is the Indus. It traverses the country diagonally in one trunk, to the latitude of 25° 30', when it begins to throw off branches. Its delta, however, commences below Tatta, in the latitude of 24° 40', after which it enters the sea by eleven mouths, and presents a face of 125 British miles to the ocean. The sources of this great river are hidden; it is certain that it rises in the mountains of Himalaya near Thibet; it is probable that the Shyook from Karakorum, and the river of Ladak from near Lake Munsurour, are its principal feeders. From Cashmeer the Indus is separated by a snowy range; it then receives the Abba Seen, and passes on to Attok, where it is joined by the Lundye, or river of Cabul. One of the sources of this tributary descends from Pamere, and is nearly as remote as the principal branch. From Attok to the sea, the Indus is familiarly known by the name of "Sinde," or "Attok." Mehran is a name only known to foreigners. Attok signifies "forbidden," and it is said to be so called, because the Hindoos are forbidden to cross it. Below the Punjab rivers, it takes the name of "Sira" down to Sehwun, and from thence to the sea that of "Lar." These are two Belooche words for north and south. The local names for different parts of the Indus are various. Those of the branches in the Delta shall be afterwards enumerated.

The face of Sinde is uninteresting. Eastward of the Indus there is not a rising ground or a stone in the country, excepting the hillocks of

Bukkur and Hyderabad. It is flat and covered with bushes, till it at last joins the desert of sand hills which separates Sinde from India. Westward of the river, as low down as Sehwun, the same flatness prevails to the base of the Belooche mountains. From that town to the sea, the land is rocky and barren. The Delta of the Indus does not differ from that of other rivers; it is rich, but it is poorly cultivated; ten miles from the sea it is frequently an impervious thicket; higher up, it is overgrown with tamarisk shrubs, which also thread into each other; the rest presents a naked plain of hard caked clay. Much of the land that is adopted for agriculture, is only used for pasture. Much of it also lies neglected, yet the crop of rice is extensive, and far exceeds the consumption of the country; it is the staple of Sinde—the inhabitants live on it, the merchants export it. It is more abundantly produced towards the sea; higher up the other grains—wheat, barley, juwaree, &c. are cultivated; also indigo, sugar-cane, tobacco, and hemp; both the latter are used as narcotics. There are but few trees in Sinde.

The length of course of the Indus, and the body of water discharged by this river, prove it to be one of the largest in the old world; its tributaries even are rivers of some magnitude. The Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and Hesudrus, are superior to the Rhone. The course of the Hyphasis is forty miles longer than that of the Elbe, and only sixty less than that of the Rhine; yet the channel of the Indus seldom exceeds the width of half a

mile; in the water it is even narrower. During the season of inundation, the different branches which it throws off are filled; by October they become unnavigable and stagnant. The Indus is a foul river, and very muddy, with numerous shoals and sand-banks. Though there is generally a depth of eleven feet in the shallowest parts, flat bottomed boats can only navigate it; the reason of this is, that vessels with a keel get fixed on the banks, and would be destroyed. The Indus is navigable for about 1200 miles from the sea; boats may drop down it from within fifty miles of Cabool; above its junction with the river of Cabool, the Indus is unnavigable.

After the Indus has fairly entered Sinde, it throws off its branches. At Bukkur, which is an insulated fortress of flint on the Indus, below the latitude of 28°, the superfluous waters of the inundation are sometimes drained off by a channel. In two years out of three it is dry; but when this channel is followed, the water passes the ancient city of Alore (four miles from Bukkur,) and through the desert near Omercote to the eastern mouth of Koree; some authors suppose this to have been once the course of the great river; the reasons are more specious than probable; the first permanent offset of the Indus is the Fulailee, which passes eastward of the capital Hyderabad; it successively takes on the name of Goonee, Phurraun, and Koree, and separates Cutch from Sinde in the lower part of its course; the next offset takes its departure near Jurk, and is named

Pinyaree; it afterwards is called Goongra, and where it enters the sea, Seer: both these branches, the Fulailee and Pinyaree, have been closed by "bunds" or dams, for the purpose of irrigation. At their estuaries, therefore, they are but creeks of the sea, and have salt, instead of fresh water, if the inundation does not make them fresh by its excess. Some remarkable changes were brought about in the eastern mouth from an earthquake in 1819, by which a large tract of land was, and still continues, submerged.

About five miles below Tatta, the Indus forms its delta by dividing into two branches; these bear the names of Baggaur and Satta; the first runs off at right angles westward: the other flows southward. The Baggaur passes Peer Putta, Darajee, and Lahory Bunders, and enters the sea by two subdivisions, the Pittee and Peeteeanee. The Sata subdivides into seven streams, and reaches the sea by the mouths of Jooa, Reechel, Hujamaree, Khedywaree, Gora, and Mull. There are even other subdivisions, but it would only confuse to name them; all these mouths have communication with each other, so that the internal navigation of the Delta is extensive. The course of the waters of the Indus is most capricious and inconstant; one year the Baggaur is dry, and in another the Sata shares a like fate. In 1809, the principal portion of the waters were disembogued by the Baggaur; in 1831 their channel of egress was confined to the Sata. The seven mouths of the Sata even vary in their supply of water, but one branch of the Indus is always

accessible to country boats. The great mouth at present is the Gora, but, from sandbanks, it is not accessible to ships; those mouths which discharge least water are most accessible.

# NARRATIVE

OF

# A VISIT

TO

# THE COURT OF SINDE.

Ever since the final occupation of Cutch by the British troops in 1819, our government has been brought in close connection with Sinde, and attempts have been made on our part to cultivate an amicable intercourse with the Ameers. But these haughty and jealous chieftains, who, from the first, had viewed the extension of our Empire in this direction with distrust and apprehension, uniformly maintained a cold and unfriendly attitude towards us. Treaties had been entered into, but without any feeling of cordiality on their part; no European officer was allowed to cross the frontier from Cutch; and even an envoy, who had proceeded from Bombay to Sinde, in 1820, on the invitation of their own minister, was coolly received at their court, and abused after he left it.

It had been an object of policy to avoid a war with the Ameers; but the British Government had, nevertheless, been forced on two occasions, one so late as 1825, to assemble large bodies of troops in Cutch, to awe them into the maintenance of treaties, and to prevent their taking advantage of our being engaged in the Bhurtpore and Burmese operations, in order to invade our territories or those of our allies. It is scarcely to be doubted that the court of Hyderabad gave protection and support to the Meeanah plunderers who infested and devastated Cutch in 1825; and indeed, every thing led to the impression, that it was the terror of our power alone which had prevented the Ameers from openly declaring war against us, and that they had no wish whatever to keep up friendly relations with us. Their distrust and jealousy were understood to extend equally to the Government and its European servants; and nothing appeared more improbable than that a British officer should be invited, on any pretence whatever, to visit Sinde.

In this state of affairs, considerable surprise was excited, when, on the 23d of October last, a letter of the most friendly nature was received from the Ameers by the Resident in Cutch, requesting that I should be permitted to proceed without delay to Hyderabad on account of the alleged sickness of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, one of the principal chiefs. As private reports did not represent the disease of his Highness as dangerous, it was now our turn to be suspicious; and many and various were the surmises formed as to the

real object of the request. Some maintained, that as peace had been restored in India, by the fall of Bhurtpore, and the termination of the Burmese war, and as the Russians had entered Persia, the Ameers had taken this mode of prudently making friendly advances to our government. Few gave them credit for sincerity in the reason assigned; and several of my friends were strongly of opinion that I ought not to venture into Sinde without some specific assurance of protection.

For my own part, I had ever felt a feverish anxiety to cross the forbidden frontier, and particularly to view the classic river Indus. Nothing could, therefore, be more satisfactory to me than the invitation; and, without considering whether the undertaking involved danger or not, I prepared to enter upon it with the best possible spirits, and without a moment's delay. My arrangements were soon completed; and, on the evening of the 25th, I commenced my march, accompanied by the Sindian vakeel or agent at Bhooj, whom the Ameers had ordered to attend me, together with an escort composed of a small detachment of the 21st regiment of native infantry, a few troopers of the Poonah auxiliary horse, and about a dozen horsemen in the service of his Highness the Rao of Cutch. The Sipahis* were the picked men of the Bhooj brigade, who had been selected for their size and appearance, and they attracted much notice and admiration during my stay in Sinde.

* *Vulgo*, Sepoys.

It was not long until I discovered that my attendant, the vakeel, had been placed near me by his suspicious masters to gain a knowledge of my temper and proceedings. I took my measures accordingly; but in the journey afterwards, he was ever in the way to prevent my obtaining correct information, and on more than one occasion, I found that he had even deceived me. He was a supple and deceitful Hindoo, named Gopaldass; one of the few of his religion who still exercise a little influence at the intolerant Court of Sinde, from their being more patient and expert in political intrigue than the Mahommedans. He had so far gained the confidence of his masters, as to be deemed worthy of being employed to watch the motions of the vizier of Cabul, and had acquired, in that theatre of oriental diplomacy, a competent knowledge of the arts of dissimulation and falsehood. Soon after my arrival at Hyderabad, I was under the necessity of forbidding him my presence; having found that he repeated with exaggeration whatever fell from me to the Ameers and their minister, Meer Ismael Shah.

On my arrival at Luckput, on the 28th, I gave orders for the immediate embarkation of my baggage, and was much surprised when he informed me that he durst not cross with me into Sinde without another express order from Hyderabad. It was in vain that I threatened to return instantly to Bhooj, and pointed out to him the responsibility he incurred, by insulting the British government in detaining me after so pressing an invitation from the Ameers. He declared that

it would cost him his life should he venture to take another step; and at last confessed, that he had not even communicated to his court the fact of my having consented to accompany him, from a fear, as he affirmed, that I might change my mind, and bring down ruin and disgrace upon himself. Nothing could exceed my chagrin at this communication; but as it was evident the Ameers were not in fault, I deemed it prudent quietly to await the return of a messenger whom he despatched.

The city of Luckput is a large fort of an irregular polygonal shape, two miles and a half in circumference, situated on a gravelly ridge at the western extremity of Cutch, on the bank of the Koree river, or eastern branch of the Indus, into which the tide flows, and which is navigable for boats of considerable size, as far up as the town. It was founded by Rao Gore, about seventy years ago, and derives its name from the great-great-grandfather of the present prince of Cutch. It was an open paltry village till the beginning of this century, when it was fortified by Futteh Mahommed, the renowned vizier or jemidar, whose decerning eye discovered in it a highly favourable situation, as well for advancing the commerce of his own country as for repressing the encroaching power of Sinde, and who used every exertion to make it a large and populous city. The inhabitants, however, do not at present exceed 6000 souls; consisting chiefly of mercantile speculators from other countries, and the families of Hindoos who have been driven from

Sinde by the intolerance of the Mahommedan faith. The walls have suffered less from the earthquake of 1819 than those of most towns in Cutch, and are at present in a state of good repair; but the houses of the inhabitants, which occupy only about a third of the area inside, are much dilapidated, and of a mean description.

Futteh Mahommed, who has just been mentioned, deserves a passing notice. He was a Mussulman of Sindian extraction, who, from the humble station of shepherd, raised himself to the supreme rule in Cutch, about the year 1788; and enjoyed a greater degree of fame and respect, both at home and abroad, than any legitimate prince who had ever sat on its throne. At the confused period when this Cutchee Cromwell appeared, the country was groaning under the tyranny of Rao Rahiden, a monster, who, having apostatized to the Moslem creed, determined to spread it by the sword throughout his dominions, and deluged Bhooj with blood; it being his usual practice to parade the streets with a body of negroes, putting to death every human being he met, whom scruples or fear prevented exclaiming, Allah Akbar. He was at length imprisoned as a lunatic, through the address and bravery of Futteh Mahommed, who, being hailed as a deliverer, restored the province to tranquillity, by a firm and judicious exercise of authority; and continued to wield its resources for many years, during which he often displayed views of policy, and traits of generosity and courage, which would have done honour to an European sovereign. A revolution

in 1801 having thrown him from his high station, his energy enabled him speedily to recover the ascendency; but his renewed sway soon betrayed an altered temper, and less worthy motives; for, soured by the misfortunes and ingratitude he had experienced, he became the merciless persecutor of his private enemies, and the ruthless scourge of the unhappy people he had so long cherished.

Futteh Mahommed, nevertheless, bears the only name in the history of Cutch on which the mind can dwell with a feeling of reverence. Living at a period when the country was a scene of dissension, and exposed as a prey to any daring adventurer, the superiority of his mind enabled him to seize the government; and he was well qualified to reduce it to order. His actions speak for themselves. In prosperity, and during the first ten years of his administration, he was prudent and just, and the popular voice was unanimous in his praise. Adversity effected a complete transformation in his character; and his subsequent actions, which his friends attempted to palliate on the plea of necessity, evince how readily he forsook his maxims of moderation, and how little he regarded the reputation he had gained. But if we take into consideration the place where he passed his early life, and the bloody examples which were daily before his eyes, we cease to wonder at his excesses, and are only surprised at the virtue and self-denial, which, amidst the greatest temptation, he had so long maintained. He was the chief whom Colonel Walker endeavoured to interest in his philanthropic but abortive scheme of

abolishing infanticide, and who, in answer to that gentleman's expostulations, retorted with a disquisition on the divine origin of this inhuman practice. That he disapproved of it, however, may be fairly inferred from his comparatively enlightened sentiments in other respects; and that he did not put it down by force, must be pardoned on the same principle that we excuse ourselves for permitting Suttee cremations.* He died so late as 1813, leaving his power to his two eldest sons; who, however, were unable to retain it.

The immediate neighbourhood of Luckput is a parched, deserted, and unproductive country, of the most uninteresting appearance; which has evidently, at no remote period, been under water, as is clear from the abundance of decayed shells and other marine productions. With the exception of one or two small gardens under the walls, there is no cultivation within two leagues of the town. A few miles distant, at the foot of the nearest hills to the south-east, are the ruins of an ancient city, called Wagum Chaora Kh Ghud, which, I believe, have not been mentioned by any preceding writer. It is supposed to have flourished about nine centuries ago, and must have belonged to the Chaora Rajpoots, who then occupied this

* Suttee cremations have been happily abolished since the first publication of this narrative. With respect to female infanticide, in a census of twenty-six towns and villages in Cutch, collected with much personal trouble in 1829, by the author's brother-in-law, Captain James Holland, only seventeen female Jharejah children were found of one hundred and seventy-six males.

part of the country. The stones of which Luckput is built have been taken chiefly from the remains of the city.

Before passing into Sinde, it may not be amiss to take a brief review of the history of that country, and of the revolutions which raised the present rulers to power.

From the days of Alexander the Great to the birth of Mahommed, a period of nine hundred years, little light is thrown on the history of Sinde; which is known at both these epochs, and during the reign of the Greek Monarchs of Bactria, to have been governed by Hindoo Rajahs. But the rapid progress of Islamism, together with the sudden rise of the Empire of the Saracens, produced a new era in the annals of this, as in those of many other nations; and so early as the 20th year of the Hejira, the fertile regions watered by the Indus had attracted the attention of the Caliph Omar, who, after founding the city of Bussora on the Euphrates, despatched an expedition from Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, in order to reduce them under his authority; but the attempt proved unsuccessful. Towards the close of the same century, however, while the enthusiastic soldiers of the Mahommedan faith were engaged in subduing Spain on the one side, and Samarcand on the other, a zeal to propagate the "religion of God and his apostle" among the Pagan Hindoos, inflamed as usual by a thirst of glory and dominion, but alloyed in this instance with the less noble motive of procuring female

slaves for the seraglio of the commander of the faithful, induced Hediaz ben Yousuf, the lieutenant of the Oommiade Caliph Walid in Sejestan and Candahar, to detach one of his generals, Mahommed Cossim, to extend the power of their sovereign towards India, and Sinde flourished under the protection of the vicegerents of the prophet, successively in Syria and at Bagdad, till 391, the date of its conquest by Sooltan Mahmood of Ghizni.*

The revolution which conveyed the ensigns of royalty from the feeble hands of this conqueror's descendants, relieved it for a moment from a foreign yoke, and encouraged the Soomras,† (descendants of the Moon), a great native

* The history of Sinde may be faintly traced to a more remote period than that mentioned in the text; for we are told that, two hundred years before the time of Alexander, the Persian Empire had extended itself to that country, under the reign of Darius Hystaspes, whose admiral, Scylax, a Greek, descended the Indus to the sea, and imposed a tribute upon the nations on its banks; to enforce the payment of which, some writers assert, was one of the objects of the Macedonian expedition. The Hindoo Prince who reigned in Sinde, at the time of Mahommed Cossim's invasion, was Dahir, the son of Chuch, a Brahmin, who had raised himself to the throne by a marriage with the widow of the last Rajpoot sovereign, and whose history is fully recorded in a Persian work named after him, "The Chuch Nameh," of which I brought an abstract with me from Hyderabad.

† This tribe came into Sind from Serumenrai, a city of Arabian Irak founded in A. H. 218 (A. D. 833,) by the KHA'LIF MUTA'SSIM BILLAH, eighth of the *Abbassides*. His Turkish and Tartar slaves had become troublesome to the inhabitants of Bâghdad, and for them was founded *Serumenroi*, or *Saumrah*; from whence, in A. D. 842, the KHALIF WATHEK sent a person to examine and report on the rampart of MAJUJ and YAJUJ. Such were the ancestors of the *Sumrahs* of *Sindh*, who came into the country with TAMI'N ASSA'EI when appointed to its government.

tribe in which the local government was vested, to make an effort for independence; but they were soon vanquished by the victorious arms of Mahommed Ghori, whose successor, the enterprising Altimsh, proclaimed himself the lord paramount of Sinde in the year 612. Now annexed to Delhi, the province remained a fief of that crown for two centuries, during which the Soomras became extinct, and their authority passed into the family of Summa, then settled upon the confines of Muckran, whose traditions would almost claim for it a genealogy from the downfall of Babylon; while Hindoo branches, derived probably from members of this family, who fled before the first Mahommedan invaders of India, are still to be found in the Rao of Cutch, and the Rajpoot Jharejas of that country and Kattiwar. In the confusion occasioned by the dreadful irruption of Tamerlane, this dynasty threw off its allegiance; and its members continued to reign under the designation of Jams, sometimes as vassals, but often uncontrolled, through a succession of several generations, till their power was entirely annihilated by the elevation of the celebrated Baber to the throne.

On the distribution of the Moghul realms into Soobbahs or divisions in the time of Akber, Sinde was attached to Mooltan, but was occasionally

To them succeeded the *Summas* or dynasty of *Jams*. They obtained power about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and lost it about the beginning of the sixteenth." Journal of the R. A. Society: Memoir by JAMES BIRD, Esq. F. G. S." For additional information on these tribes, *Vide* Appendix, No. VI.

ruled by separate viceroys, nominated by the court of Hindostan, till the invasion of Nadir Shah, when it was ceded to Persia by virtue of the treaty concluded between that monarch and the emperor Mahommed the Second, who, to use the polished terms of the instrument itself, "in consideration of an affection stronger than father ever showed to son, or brother to brother," dismembered to his conqueror, as a peace-offering, all the territories bordering on the Indus which were then deemed worthy of his acceptance. This arrangement concluded, Nadir Shah visited Tatta; but his assassination, which occurred soon after at Meshed, in Khorassan, having left a field open for the ambitious schemes of his general, Ahmed Khan Seedozy, that aspiring chief declared himself king of Cabul, and laid the foundation of the Douranee empire, to which Sinde after a time submitted, and has ever since been considered subordinate.

The house of Calora claimed a lineage from the princely blood of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet; but its greatness in Sinde is traced to Adam Shah, a native of Belochistan, who gained a high influence from the reputed sanctity of his character, and as the chosen disciple and delegate of a famous Mahommedan preacher, in the middle of the fifteenth century* of our era, and whose

* It is a singular coincidence, that, at this very period, (the middle of the fifteenth century,) should have appeared the two religious leaders, who have exerted so much political influence on the countries bordering on the Indus; namely, Adam Shah, the head of the Caloras, and Nanna, the founder of the Sikhs now so formidable.

descendants, inheriting the holiness of their ancestor succeeded to his spiritual power, and were revered as saints till about 1705, when they were honoured with a title and a jaghire, by the great Aurungzebe. With temporal rank thus added to religious veneration, the grandeur of the family rapidly increased; and in a few years their glory reached its zenith by the issue of a firmaun under the emperor's signet, installing their representative in the viceregal government of Tatta.

The patent for this investiture was granted about 1735, in the person of Meean Noor Mahommed,* who may be styled the flower of the race, and who, on transferring his fealty to Persia, agreeably to the treaty of Delhi, contrived, by address and solicitation, to obtain from Nadir Shah a confirmation of its privileges, which he enjoyed during his lifetime, and bequeathed to his posterity at his death. When this event took place, Ahmed Shah had seated himself firmly on the Affghaun throne, and in order to regulate the payment of his tribute from Sinde, was advancing into Sewistan. One of the first to offer him homage was Mourad Yab Khan, the eldest son of Meean Noor Mahommed, who had been raised to the musnud or chair of state by the suf-

* "In the person of Meean Noor Mahommed, the authority which was at first an usurpation of itinerants, became legitimated, and the descendants of a mendicant elevated to the government of Sinde. The stock, however, was held in holy veneration; religious prejudice, therefore, combined with worldly power to awe the public mind, and many features of the country at the present day, mark the impression of the double influence." —Crow.

frages of the grandees, and whose dignity the king was at first pleased to ratify; but, having proved himself unworthy of the trust, he was deposed, and his honours devolved on one of his younger brothers, Meean Gholam Shah, who, after a struggle for the supremacy, at length boldly seized the reins of government, and commenced an active administration, though not unchequered by reverses, of fifteen years.

Civil dissension being at an end, he led in person two expeditions against the "infidels of Cutch," and defeated the Rao's troops at the great battle of Jarrah, memorable for the barbarity of the Rajpoots, who, seeing victory hopeless, turned their swords against their own women and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of the invaders, and where, as the historians of the country allege, a hundred thousand corpses strewed the field. Such bloodshed might have satisfied the triumph, and glutted the revenge of the most inveterate enemy; but it was not sufficient for Gholam Shah, who, disappointed in the hope of adding a province to his dominions, and enraged at the obstinate valour of a nation fighting for independence, resolved, by a refinement in persecution known only to Asiatics, to inflict upon it a novel and most signal act of vengeance, the disastrous effects of which should remain as a monument of his wrath to future ages. With this view he commanded an embankment to be thrown across the eastern branch of the Indus within his own territories, and dug canals for the purpose of withdrawing the waters of that river

entirely from Cutch; and, by this master stroke of implacable resentment, he had the stern gratification of depriving his adversary of nearly half his revenue, blasting the hopes and expectations of a thousand families, and transforming a valuable district of rice country into a gloomy and unproductive waste. The injury has indeed proved irreparable; for, from the influx of the tide, the tract alluded to has become a dreary salt marsh, and the principality may be said to have declined ever since.

A splendid mausoleum, inclosing a tomb of white marble, inscribed with Arabic apothegms of mercy and humility, perpetuates the memory, and commemorates the achievements, of this destroyer, near the capital of Sinde, where his character is esteemed as that of a brave and victorious prince. He closed his career in 1771, after a few hours' illness; his sudden death being attributed, by the pious Moslems, to a curse uttered against him by a fuqueer, whose hut he had sacrilegiously directed to be cleared away, during the erection of the fortress of Hyderabad, which he had the merit of founding.

The demise of Gholam Shah left the musnud vacant for his eldest son, Meean Surufraz Khan; who, far inferior in talents to his sire, was equally unprincipled in conduct, and to whose capricious tyranny is ascribed the ruin of his line. Among the most distinguished personages at his court, was Meer Byram Khan, the chief of a Beloche tribe, named Talpoor, whose members had, for many generations, held the highest offices of the

state, and whom, from an impulse of jealousy and suspicion for which history can shew no foundation, he ordered to be put to death, together with his son Sobdar Khan; an act of wanton cruelty and injustice, which led eventually to his own dethronement, after a short reign of five years.

Meean Surufraz Khan was succeeded by his brother Mahommed Khan, and his cousin Sadik Ali Khan, neither of whom retained the Government longer than a twelvemonth, and who, together with himself, expiated their crimes or imbecility, by a life of imprisonment and a violent end, agreeably to the mode of disposing of unfortunate princes, which prevails in eastern palaces. The ensigns of state were then assumed by Meean Gholam Nubbee, a brother of Gholam Shah; who, reckless of consequences, and untaught by the fate of his three nephews, immediately entered into an intrigue to assassinate Meer Bejur Khan, the surviving chief of the Talpoors, and son of Byram Khan, who had been absent on a pilgrimage to Mecca at the period of his father's murder. But his treacherous attempts proved utterly unsuccessful, and ended in his own overthrow. He was slain in battle by the adherents of his rival, when the whole power of Sinde fell into the hands of Meer Bejur Khan, who, with a magnanimity scarcely to be expected, was the first to take the oath of allegiance to Meean Abdul Nubbee, the brother of his fallen enemy.

But neither generosity nor experience could influence the conduct of the ill-fated race of Calora. No sooner had Meean Abdul Nubbee ob-

tained his seat on the musnud, through the grace of a man who had suffered the bitterest persecution from his family; than, pursuing the wicked policy of his predecessors, he began also to seek the destruction of Meer Bajur Khan, which he at length effected through the friendship of a Hindoo confederate, Maharaj Bysing, the Rajah of Joudpoor. From this prince two assassins were sent as messengers on business to Meer Bejur Khan, and approaching him under the pretext of secret information, plunged their daggers into his breast, when he instantly expired. On this event no bounds could restrain the fury of the Talpoors, who flew to arms in great numbers; and a series of bloody commotions followed, which brought about a total revolution in the Government of Sinde. Mean Abdul Nubbee fled into the mountains of Belochistan; and, after various attempts to recover his power, (in one of which, through the assistance of the king of Cabul, he was partially successful, and added to his crimes the murder of Meer Abdullah Khan, the son of Meer Bejur), he passed the remainder of his life, as an exile, in poverty and contempt.* Meer Futteh Ali Khan, the son of Sobdar Khan, and grandson of Byram Khan, whose bravery and perseverance,

* "Timour Shah, after some unavailing attempts to restore him, (Abdool Nubbee) conferred on him the Government of Leia as an indemnity for Sinde, and formally invested the chief of the Talpoories with the Government of that Province. Abdool Nubbee repaid the Shah's bounty by rebelling in his new Province, was defeated by the royal troops, and ended his days in poverty at Dera Haujee Khan in Upper Sinde."—ELPHINSTONE's *Cabul*.

excited by revenge, had been chiefly instrumental in effecting the change, was, by the general voice, called to the direction of affairs, and was shortly afterwards confirmed as ruler of the country by the patent of the king, Timour Shah. On his own elevation, this prince liberally resolved to admit to a participation in his high destiny, his three younger brothers, Meers Gholam Ali Khan, Kurm Ali Khan, and Mourad Ali Khan; and the four agreed to reign together under the denomination of the Ameers, or Lords of Sinde. While they all lived, the strong and unvarying attachment they evinced for each other, gained them the honourable appellation of the *Char Yar*, or "the four friends;" and although Meer Futteh Ali died in 1801, and Meer Gholam Ali in 1811, this Government, a phenomenon in history, has continued, with little alteration, from its first commencement to the present moment. There are still some remnants of the exiled house living under the protection of Miharaja Runjeet Sing, the celebrated Sikh chieftain, and the king of Joudpoor.

The intercourse of the British with Sinde has been rare, and for the most part unsatisfactory. The great advantages of Tatta as an emporium for the trade of central Asia, early invited English speculators to the Indus; but the constant opposition of the Portuguese prevented their effecting a permanent settlement, and if we may judge from the indignities offered to the ambassadors of James the First to the King of Persia, as they passed through in 1614, our countrymen must, at that

THE PORT NEAR LUCKPUT

time, have been in bad repute. About 1758, Meean Gholam Shah encouraged the Bombay Government to establish a factory at Tatta, which was withdrawn, however, some years after; though so late even as the beginning of this century, Mr. Crow appears to have been our commercial resident at that city. The ambitious schemes of the French made it necessary in 1808-9 to send missions to the chief powers in the north of India, in order to counteract their intrigues; and while Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm were deputed to the courts of Cabul and Persia, an envoy, Mr. Hankey Smith, also proceeded to Hyderabad, who, although indifferently received, gained the object of the governor-general. Before this embassy, the Ameers had seen no British subjects, except as petitioners for mercantile benefits; which gave rise to a reproach they have been often known to apply to us, unwittingly in the same terms as a much greater personage, that we are a nation of shopkeepers. Of this erroneous impression, we may presume that they are by this time pretty nearly cured. Though the extent of their gross ignorance and presumption at one period may be estimated, from the fact of their having made the assassination of Meer Bejur Khan a plea for requiring the gentlemen of Mr. Smith's embassy to appear at their durbar unarmed, an insulting proposal, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, was indignantly rejected. Our transactions with their Highnesses, subsequently to our invasion of Cutch in 1816, are detailed in the

sketch of the history of that country, subjoined to the present narrative.

I waited with the greatest impatience till the morning of the 3d November, when the expected letter from the Ameers arrived. It was couched in the most friendly terms; begging me to come with all convenient speed to Hyderabad, and informing me that two noblemen, high in their favour, had been despatched to meet me, and conduct me to their court. I prepared immediately to obey the welcome summons, and made arrangements for taking the straight route by Pallia and Gharee; but here again the vakeel interfered, stating that he had been directed to conduct me by the road of Bhee, or Mugryhee, a large town in a westerly direction, situated in the province of Jattee. It certainly excited my surprise, that if the Ameers required my presence for the cure of a dangerous disorder, they should prescribe a circuitous route, by which the journey would be protracted so many days longer. The vakeel, however, could not give any satisfactory explanation, and the killedar of Luckput strongly urged me not to venture; but I found afterwards that these suspicions were most unjust, and that my detention, both there and on the road, was merely to enable the Sinde authorities to receive me with greater civility and distinction.

All things being prepared, I embarked in the afternoon with a fair wind, and reached Kotree, the landing-place, on the opposite side, about five

o'clock. The distance in a direct line is not more than four miles, but, from the windings of the stream, our voyage must have exceeded eight. One of the most extraordinary effects of the great earthquake in 1819 was produced upon this channel, which, before that dreadful convulsion, was fordable at low water, but which is now at all times impracticable for foot-passengers.

Previous to the battle of Jarrah in 1762, as already mentioned, the eastern branch of the Indus or Puran emptied itself into the sea by passing Luckput and Cotasir. Its annual inundations watered the soil, and afforded the natives of Cutch a plentiful supply of rice, the whole country between Sinde and Luckput then known by the name of 'Sayra,' being cultivated, and so fertile, that it yielded an annual revenue to the Government of upwards of two lacs of rupees. The embankment raised by Gholam Shah deprived it of this advantage, and the channel, which had been before deep and navigable, became quite shallow and filled with mud, there being no running stream to carry it off. From the low and level nature of the Sindian coast, it is scarcely discernible from Luckput; but the shores of Cutch are distinctly seen, and present a bold striking appearance from the opposite side.

Kotree is merely the name given to the landing place in Sinde. There is neither house, bunder, nor inhabitants, nay, not even the usual party of soldiers for the collection of the revenue: a precaution seldom neglected by either the Cutch or Sindian Government; and the omission of

which, in this instance, is only to be attributed to the want of fresh water, which is not procurable for the use of man within many miles of the shore. We saw about a hundred camels on the beach, which had come laden with ghee or clarified butter from Sinde, together with several merchants who were preparing to embark for Cutch. Some delay occurred in landing the baggage; but by seven o'clock we marched, with a beautiful moonlight, for Lah, in a direction nearly north-westerly. We continued our journey till eleven o'clock, by which time we reached our destination. Not a tree, house, nor human being, except our own people, was to be seen on the road, which extended for about eighteen miles over a level tract of country, a continuation of the great northern Runn,* or, in other words, a perfect desert. I found the road firm and hard, though I was informed that it would be impassable, or nearly so, in the rainy season.

At Lah there are two or three trees in the immediate neighbourhood; but the same appear-

* "Runn," in the ancient language of India, signifies an extensive plain, a desert, or field of battle. The Runn of Cutch, which nearly surrounds the province, would appear to have been the bed of an inland sea, raised by earthquakes above its natural level—during a portion of the year this tract is dry, hard, and level, covered in some parts with a thick incrustation of salt. From the commencement of the south-west winds until after the termination of the monsoon, the whole of the Runn is covered with water, and for a considerable time after it subsides, is too deep in mud to be crossed except with difficulty and danger. When dry it is hardly ever crossed in mid-day, the reflection from the rays of the sun on the crystalised salt surface being blinding and intolerable. The Gorkhur or wild ass is met with on the Runn in large numbers." MS. Notes by Captain James Holland, Deputy Qr.-Master General.

ance of Runn extends all around, interspersed with scattered and stunted shrubs. The country, as far as the eye can reach, is a dead unproductive flat, nor is there a hill or village visible in any direction. A few Sindian soldiers, not above eight or ten, whose only place of residence is an open wooden shed, and whose chief food is camel's milk, are stationed at Lah to collect a tax on the merchandize which passes; and they are its only inhabitants. But even from these few specimens I could at once distinguish a different people, different manners, and different language, from those of Cutch. They were men of large size, dressed in frocks resembling those of English labourers, of a coarse dark blue cotton, trowsers of the same material, and the national cap, which is of a cylindrical form, about eight inches in height, and commonly made of coloured cloth. Like their countrymen in general, they wore long beards and mustachios, and were armed with swords, daggers, matchlocks, and shields. I shall probably have occasion afterwards to allude to the military retainers of the Ameers; in the meantime, I cannot refer to a more exact delineation of the appearance, dress, and accoutrements of the Sindian soldier, than that which is given in the frontispiece to Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan. Lah has been chosen as a post, I presume, from its being the first place on the road from Cutch where water is drinkable; though this is saying too much for the muddy brackish fluid which was presented to us: none of the Sipahis with me could swallow it, and they were obliged

to depend on the small supply they had brought with them from Luckput. I found the place extremely disagreeable; for, besides there being no water to drink, the air was impregnated with saline exhalations and the disgusting effluvia of camel's dung.

It would be uninteresting, as well as unnecessary, to follow particularly the course of my journey through the barren and desolate tract I traversed during the two following days. On the morning of the 4th I halted at Vere, twelve miles, and proceeded about thirteen miles further to Himiut on the forenoon of the 5th. Neither of these places merits a detailed description; they are names merely given to stations in the desert, where a little brackish water is to be obtained from marshes in the neighbourhood At Himiut I learned that the officers who had been despatched from the court to receive me, had taken the route by Ruree, and instead of pursuing my march to Mugrbhee, I accordingly turned towards that town and reached it on the night of the 5th, a distance from my last stage of about twenty miles. The road from Lah to Ruree extended in a direction nearly north, through a continuation of the same sort of country as I have already described, a desert Runn, without an elevation to vary the scene. As I approached nearer Rurce, I saw several extensive marshes of fresh water, which are supplied, I presume, from the Sunkra and Meeta Meera branches of the Indus, as laid down in some of our printed maps, but which are known to the natives by the names of Goongroo and

Pinyaree. The Sunkra is however mentioned in the treaty of partition between Nadir Shah and the Emperor Mahommed,* as the common boundary between Hindoostan and the Persian provinces. Hence Major Rennell infers that the eastern branch of the Indus is named Sunkra; which, however, is certainly not the case for many miles from its mouth. It is worthy of remark, that the common natives of Sinde have no other name for the Indus generally than that of the "Derya," or sea. They distinguish it from the ocean by terming it the "Derya Sheereen," or "Meeta Derya," which means the fresh water sea, in contradistinction to "Derya Shor," or salt-water sea. The ancient sanscrit appellation, "Sindhu," also means the ocean.

It required little discernment to discover that the road from Kotree to Ruree was quite unsuited for military purposes. I question if it be at all passable in the rains; and although, during the dry season, artillery could, no doubt, be conveyed by this entrance into Sinde, still the total want of supplies, and I may almost say, of fresh water, for a distance of above forty-nine miles, would render it extremely inconvenient for the passage

* "In consideration of the favour which no father shows to a son, and no brother to a brother, I make over to him (Nadir Shah) all the country to the west of the river Attok, the water of Sinde, and the Nulla Sunkra, which is a branch of the water of Sinde. That is to say, &c. 'All their fields, villages, castles, towns, and ports, from the first rise of the river Attok, with all the passes and habitations, which the above said water and its several branches comprehends, and surrounds as far as the Nulla Sunkra, where it empties itself into the sea," &c.

of an invading army. In these inhospitable tracts, and all along the Delta of the Indus, the camels of Sinde, so famed through the whole of Asia, are reared, and they are the only species of conveyance used in the country,—carts, as well as made roads, being unknown. The traffic by land, between the lower provinces and Candahar, is carried on by means of these animals, which are supposed to acquire a greater hardihood, from being brought up in salt marshes, where they are limited, from the first, in their allowance of fresh water.

The villages of Sinde, on this side of the Indus, are much inferior in appearance to those of Cutch, and are entirely destitute of the stone buildings and tiled roofs, which give an air of neatness and comfort to those of the latter country. They are for the most part collections of low huts, composed entirely of clay and thatch, while even the mosques, with which they abound, are generally of the same frail materials, and only distinguishable, indeed, by their greater elevation, and a feeble attempt at ornament. Many of the inhabitants of the province live in grass hovels in the fields which they cultivate. Most of the villages have no name except that of their actual owner; and it is not unusual for the whole population of a place to remove their dwellings to another station, as inclination or necessity prompts them, and when either food or forage fails. I need scarcely remind the classical reader, that the moveable houses of the people of Sinde are mentioned by Arrian, as one of the peculiarities of the country in the days of Alexander the Great.

The town of Ruree is superior to most of its kind, and was, till lately, a place of considerable opulence. Being, however, so far removed from the freshes of the Indus, and depending chiefly on the periodical rains, it has, during the last few years, suffered very severely from want of water, like the neighbouring country of Cutch. The inhabitants are now reduced to below five hundred; but at the time I visited them, grain was so plentiful that our horses were fed with rice, cut unripe, instead of grass. Towards the west I was told that there was cultivation in abundance, but that the opposite direction was a dreary waste. The only object of interest at this place is a large mosque, sacred to the memory of Peer Noor Shah, which is visible at a very great distance, and which was built a hundred and fifty years ago, of stones brought from the neighbourhood of Tatta. Near the town is a large tank of excellent water.

Immediately on my arrival at Ruree, I was visited by the Khans whom the Ameers had sent to meet me, and who were introduced as Hyder Khan Lagharee, the governor of the province of Jattee, and nephew of the principal vizier, and Bahadoor Khan, both distinguished officers of the Sinde government. They received me with great courtesy, each embracing me in a ceremonious manner, and after a profusion of civilities on their part, entered into a long complimentary message from the Ameers, who, they assured me, were highly gratified by my visit. They brought orders from Hyderabad that neither I nor my re-

tinue should be permitted to pay for any supplies on the route; and although I was of course unwilling to accept, and remonstrated strongly against, such an expensive mark of kindness to above a hundred persons, I was forced to comply, in order to avoid giving offence. Fifty camels were in attendance, by command of the Ameers, who had given positive directions that none of my followers should be allowed to walk. The Khans even considered seriously how my palanquin bearers could be mounted; and although this was impracticable, I was obliged to consent that the Sipahis of the guard, and all others, should proceed on camels. The supplies were of an expensive description; nothing in fact seemed to be spared that could add to my comfort, or that of my attendants; and sugar, sweetmeats, and opium, were daily issued in great profusion.

Having thus given a sketch of my route as far as Ruree, it appears unnecessary to dwell upon uninteresting details. From Ruree I marched to Shahkapoor, a considerable town, containing about 3000 inhabitants, and near which are extensive ruins, ten miles; to Butora, boating it across a deep but narrow river, which appeared to be almost stagnant, three miles; to Amra, a small village, three miles; Meerpoor, a large walled city, four miles; Thoora, four miles; Laiqpoor, six miles; Damaka-got, five miles; Bunna, five miles; Cabulpoor, eight miles; Meeanee, four miles; Triccul, five miles; Sommerjee Wusee, eight miles; Jumrajee Wussee, four miles; Hyderabad, four miles.

All these places bear the general features I have already described. In addition to them, I passed through clusters of temporary villages, which do not require any observation, further than that they gave an appearance of extreme populousness to the country. At Laiqpoor and Triccul, I took up my abode in wicker bungalows, in the middle of gardens beautifully shaded, and decked with flowers: these were the hunting lodges of the Ameers. The country continues level till within a few miles of Hyderabad, when it begins to assume a more hilly appearance.* From Ruree to Thoora the extensive cultivation and richness of the soil were everywhere remarkable. I had to cross a number of canals, dug for the purposes of agriculture, from the branches of the Indus; and over many of these, small brick bridges had been thrown, on which *mot,hs*, or draw-wells were constantly at play, for irrigating the fields. The transition from the parched deserts of Cutch to the exuberance of vegetable life which was now before me, could not fail to produce the most pleasurable feelings,

* "The scenery near the capital of Sinde is varied and beautiful: the sides of the river are lined with lofty trees; and there is a background of hill to relieve the eye from the monotony which presents itself in the dusty arid plains of the Delta. The Indus is larger, too, than in most places lower down, being about 830 yards wide; there is a sand bank in the middle, but it is hidden by the stream. The island on which Hyderabad stands is barren, from the rocky and hilly nature of the soil, but even the arable parts are poorly cultivated." BURNES' BOKHARA, 2d Edit. Vol. I.

and a contrast in my mind highly favourable to Sinde.*

It was on the evening of the 8th, that I arrived at Bunna, and saw for the first time the river Indus. My impatience to view this famous classic stream had been so excited, that I left all my baggage behind, and riding nearly forty miles during the day, reached its bank at sunset quite exhausted and fatigued. The feeling with which my curiosity was at length gratified, I will not attempt to describe; but I question whether my Hindoo attendants, who began to mutter their prayers to the river as an object of adoration, and who considered immersion in its sacred waters a nearer step to everlasting bliss, felt a stronger, or more overpowering emotion than I did, in contemplating the scene of Alexander's glories. Never before did the worship of water or water gods appear to me so excusable, as in observing the blessings everywhere diffused by this mighty and beneficent stream.

It is at Bunna that the Pinyaree branch leaves

* "In every step of his progress, objects no less striking than new, presented themselves to Alexander. The magnitude of the Indus, even after he had seen the Euphrates and the Tigris, must have filled him with surprise. No country he had hitherto visited, was so populous and well cultivated, or abounded in so many valuable productions of nature and of art, as that part of India through which he had led his army."—ROBERTSON's *India*.—"The province of Sindy, in many particulars of soil and climate, and in the general appearance of its surface, resembles Egypt; the lower part of it being composed of rich vegetable mould, and extended into a wide delta, the river Indus, equal at least to the Nile, winding through the midst of this level valley, and annually overflowing it."—RENNELL's *Memoir*.

the parent stream. The channel of the latter is here above a mile wide, with a large dry sand bank in the middle. My march from Laiqpoor to Bunna, and from thence to within a short distance of Hyderabad, was through a thick hunting forest belonging to the Ameers, which concealed every other part of the country from my observation. The road extended for many miles along the verge of the Indus, which, at a short distance above Bunna, is a large beautiful river about half a mile broad, studded with boats,* filling its channel from bank to bank, and moving majestically forward, at the rate of about three miles an hour.

Nothing could exceed the attention I experienced on the route from my Mihmandars, who themselves frequently sat up to watch me during the night. A large cotton mattress, covered with crimson silk, was always carried near me, in case I should feel disposed to alight; flaggons of cooled sherbet, and other luxuries, were also liberally supplied. The Ameers had sent several hawks, which afforded an attractive sport on the road, and supplied my table with every species of wing-

* "The Doonda, which is the only kind of vessel ever used in the lower part of the Indus, would appear to an unprofessional observer to be but a slight improvement on the primitive raft. All the ingenuity displayed in its construction is directed to a very humble object, that of saving the craft from inevitable destruction in case of grounding. If we compare this clumsy unweildy barge with the sharp well built latine vessels of 60 or 80 tons, drawing five to nine feet, which navigate the Euphrates, or with the varied form or size of the country boats seen on the Ganges, the inference is inevitable, that the facilities which these rivers offer to navigation far surpass those of the Indus." M. S. Report on the Indus, by J. F. Heddle, Esq.

ed game, which indeed is more abundant in Sinde, than in any country I have ever visited. My great object being to reach Hyderabad without delay, our rate of travelling was as rapid as possible. There must have been at least a thousand persons in our party, most of whom were mounted on camels. The Khans themselves adopted this mode of travelling, which is the most usual and comfortable in Sinde, and moved so expeditiously, as generally to keep pace with my horse. Their saddle was a silken cushion, which entirely relieves the rider from the effect of the uneasy gait of the camels. The road by which we travelled had never before, I believe, been passed by any European. The eager curiosity evinced by the inhabitants to see me was beyond all bounds; my tent was surrounded constantly by a flock of gazers; and crowds came from all parts of the country to look at the Feringee or European. Some even affected sickness to gain admittance to my presence; and on my discovering the pretence, they readily acknowledged that their only wish had been to see me, from a belief that it might improve their fortunes.

As I approached nearer Hyderabad, (within thirty miles,) I was met by Mahommed Khan Tora, a nobleman related to the family of the Ameers; who, together with another officer of rank, named Moussa Cahitan, had been sent to compliment me, and who brought with them a number of attendants. From these persons, I learned that unusual preparations were making for my reception at Court; "for" said they,

LAH IN THE DESERT

" other Europeans have come into Sinde on their own affairs, but you are here by the invitation of the Ameers, and will be made welcome in a different manner from them."

At the nearest stage to the capital, I was received by the Nuwaub Wullee Mahommed Khan Lagharee, the prime minister of Sinde, whom, as a mark of great respect, the Ameers had sent to congratulate me on my arrival. He was accompanied by a splended retinue, composed of nearly all the men of consequence at court, and was carried by eight bearers in a meeanah or elevated chair, made of crimson velvet, with rich fringe and golden ornaments, from which, the moment he saw me, he alighted and cordially embraced me. He is a venerable looking man, of great age and respectability, with the address of a courtier, combined with much natural dignity and kindness. I was placed opposite to him in his litter; and in this manner we continued our journey for a considerable distance.

On the morning of the 10th of November, I entered Hyderabad; and no language of mine can do justice to the busy and varied scene which was then before me. Upwards of ten or twelve thousand persons must have been assembled, all of whom manifested an intense curiosity to see me; the women even, very unlike the gentle Hindoo ladies, pressed themselves close to the chair, and such was the concourse, that it was almost impossible to proceed, although the Sindian soldiery spared neither sword nor matchlock in endeavouring to clear the way. Within a mile of the

city, I was mounted on a large black horse, handsomely caparisoned, which had been brought out by Wullee Mahommed Khan, and led slowly forwards; but the crowd being found quite impervious, my conductors recommended me to enter my own close palanquin, or box, as they termed it, to be out of sight, and escape the pressing of the multitude.

In this manner, after much labour, in one of the hottest days I had ever experienced, we at length reached the gate of the fortress of Hyderabad, which is appropriated solely to the residence of the Ameers and their families, and where I learned, for the first time, that I was immediately to be introduced to the lords of Sinde. The silence which reigned within the fort formed a strong contrast to the noise and tumult without. After passing through some narrow streets, which were inhabited only by the immediate retainers of the court, I found myself unexpectedly, among a crowd of well-dressed Sindians, in a large open area, the walls of which, on either side, were fancifully decorated with paintings, and the ground covered with variegated carpets. At one end appeared three large arched doors with curtains of green baize, towards one of which I was led by the vizier and another officer; and before I could collect myself from the suddenness of the transition, my boots were taken off, and I stood in presence of the Ameers.

The *coup d'œil* was striking. I had an opportunity of seeing the whole reigning family at a glance, and I have certainly never witnessed any

spectacle which was more gratifying, or approached nearer to the fancies we indulge in childhood, of eastern elegance. The group formed a semicircle of handsomely attired figures, at the end of a lofty hall spread with Persian carpeting. In the centre were seated the two principal Ameers on their musnud, a slightly elevated cushion of French white satin, beautifully worked with flowers of silk and gold, the corners of which were secured by four massive and highly-chased golden ornaments, resembling pine-apples, and, together with a large velvet pillow behind, covered with rich embroidery, presenting a very grand appearance. On each side, their Highnesses were supported by the members of their family, consisting of their nephews, Meers Sobdar and Mahommed, and the sons of Meer Mourad Ali, Meers Noor Mahommed, and Nusseer Khan. Farther off sat their more distant relations, among whom were Meer Mahomood Khan, their uncle, and his sons Meers Ahmed Khan, and Juhan Khan. Behind stood a crowd of well-dressed attendants, sword and shield bearers to the different princes.

To an European, and one accustomed to form his notions of native ceremony by a much humbler standard, it was particularly gratifying to observe the taste displayed in dress, and the attention to cleanliness, in the scene before me. There was no gaudy show of tinsel or scarlet; none of that mixture of gorgeousness and dirt to be seen at the courts of most Hindoo princes, but, on the contrary, a degree of simple and becoming

elegance, far surpassing any thing of the kind it had ever been my fortune to behold. The Ameers and their attendants were habited nearly alike, in angricas or tunics of fine white muslin, neatly prepared and plaited so as to resemble dimity, with cummerbunds or sashes of silk and gold, wide Turkish trowsers of silk, tied at the ankle, chiefly dark blue, and the Sindian caps I have already described, made of gold brocade, or embroidered velvet. A pair of cashmere shawls of great beauty, generally white, thrown negligently over the arm, and a Persian dagger at the girdle, richly ornamented with diamonds, or precious stones, completed the dress and decoration of each of the princes.

Viewing the family generally, I could not but admire their manners and deportment, and acknowledge, that, in appearance at least, they seemed worthy of the elevation they had gained. The younger princes, indeed, had an air of dignity and good breeding seldom to be met with, either in the European or native character. The principal Ameers were the least respectable of the party in point of looks; probably from having had less advantages, and more exposure to hardships in early life.* They are in reality older,

* Mr Crow's account of the four brothers is subjoined; but, as he wrote at the end of last century, it must be borne in mind that the description applies chiefly to Futteh and Gholam Ali, the present chief Ameers being then very young. "The infancy of the four princes was passed in great obscurity, and even poverty, under the latter part of the reign of the Caloras, who were not, as may be supposed from the dissentions, friendly to the tribe. The present rulers of Sinde have been seen, it is said, tending

but did not appear above the age of fifty, from the very careful manner in which their beards and hair are stained. With one exception, there is little family likeness between them and the younger chiefs, who have inherited from their mothers fair complexions, jet black hair, with long eyelashes and eyebrows. Meer Nusseer Khan struck me at once as a particularly handsome man.

The general style of the Sinde court could not fail to excite my admiration, as much as the appearance of the Ameers. All the officers in attendance, judging from their dress and manners, seemed to be of superior rank. There was no crowding for places; the rabble had been shut entirely out of doors; and there was a degree of stillness and solemnity throughout the whole, and an order and decorum in the demeanour of each individual, which, together with the brilliant display I have mentioned, impressed me with a feeling of awe and respect, I could not have anticipated. It is scarcely necessary, after what I have described, to say that their Highnesses re-

cattle in its jungles, and cooking their own meals. Certain it is, that their understandings, dispositions, and manners, betray great barbarity of education, and that, since their advancement to an affluent sphere, they have derived little cultivation from literature or society. Their ideas extend no farther beyond the mountains and desert which bound their country, than to events at Candahar, and the highest reach of their wisdom and policy is watching the motions of the king, and bribing his officers to gain delay or remission in their payment of the tribute; their solicitude at home is to guard their personal safety, and to enrich themselves individually, and all the rest of their occupation consists in self-gratification, without a single glance at the condition of the people, or the real interest of the country.

ceived me in a state durbar. The native agent who had accompanied the two last embassies from our Government was present, and assured me that the arrangements on this occasion, and the nature of my reception, were very different, indeed, far superior to any ceremonial he had seen during a residence of twenty years in Sinde.*

As my boots had been taken off at the door, I determined not to uncover my head, and accordingly walked up the centre of the hall with my hat on. The whole family immediately saluted me, and I was requested to take my seat in front of the chief Ameers, and partly on their musnud. A conversation was at once commenced in the Persian language, and I was asked fifty questions in a breath; Are you well? Are you happy? Are you pleased? Have you been treated well? &c. In answer to these civilities, I replied in the best manner I could; that, from the moment I had entered Sinde, I had experienced nothing but kindness and respect, and that I was thankful to them for the marked attentions I had re-

* "It is due to their Highnesses to mention, that they have treated Mr. Burnes, who, they say, is not only the most skilful of all physicians, but their best friend, and the cementer of the bonds of amity between the Governments, during his sojourn at Hyderabad, with the most marked distinction and kindness, both as a professional gentleman, to whom they were indebted for advice, and as an officer of the British Government, deputed in that capacity at their special request. In the latter light they received him on his first arrival in a state Durbar with every honour and formality, and afterwards made him welcome at all times, with a degree of cordiality and politeness, which the native agent justly observes in his letter to me, they never before evinced to any gentleman." Despatch from the Resident in Cutch to Government, Political Department, No. 19 of 1828.

ceived. Meer Kurm Ali Khan observed that I was a guest who had come by invitation; that every thing they had was at my disposal; that they had appointed their chief minister, my Mihmander or entertainer, who had their orders to comply with my wishes in every respect; and that, at a short distance from the town, a garden had been prepared for my reception, which I might either occupy as I chose, or take up my residence with themselves within the fortress of Hyderabad.

Several inquiries then followed regarding Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor-General, and his Majesty King George the Fourth, for all of whom the Ameers professed the greatest respect and esteem. The resident in Cutch, they observed, had acted the part of a friend in permitting me to visit Sinde; and by the grace of God, the friendship between themselves and the British Government would now be greater than it had ever been at any former period. From this, their Highnesses passed to the subject of medicine, commencing a minute scrutiny regarding my age, as well as how and where I had studied my profession. In this respect, they seemed inclined at first to adopt the opinion not uncommon in Europe, that youth and knowledge can scarcely be conjoined; and they were evidently somewhat disappointed that I had neither gravity nor gray hairs to support my pretensions. The first observation I heard made between themselves, was in reference to my youthful appearance.

After having sat about an hour, all strangers were ordered to withdraw, and the subject of Meer Mourad Ali's illness was introduced. From his general appearance, I could scarcely have conceived that he was labouring under any disease, however trivial; and on examination I was gratified to find, that, instead of an immediately dangerous disorder, as I had anticipated, the case was one, which, with proper care and attention, might be relieved, if not perfectly cured. The whole family expressed great satisfaction when I announced this circumstance to them, and expressed my belief that his Highness would be restored to health without a surgical operation, of which they seemed to entertain great apprehensions. Towards the end of the interview, when the reserve on both sides had worn off, and I found I was to be met with confidence and civility, I considered it my duty to take every becoming means in my power to conciliate them by my manners and conversation. In this I had reason to believe I succeeded; for at my departure from their presence, both the chief Ameers assured me they had never before met with an European with whom they had been so much pleased.*

* The following is Colonel Pottinger's description of the Ameers during the lifetime of Meer Gholam Ali. Another species of scenic effect was got up for the embassy of 1832, and for Captain (now Sir Alexander) Burnes, whose account is also subjoined, the object having been to display the barbarous legions of Sinde to persons not altogether welcome. It must be borne in mind also, that Meer Kurm Ali had died in the interval between the author's visit and his brother's, and that, from motives of policy, the soldiery were excluded from the fort during Meer Mourad Ali's illness. "The platform was spread with the richest carpets. * * "The Ameers wore a vast

From the durbar I was conducted by the Nuwab Wullee Mahommed Khan through the same number of jewels, exclusive of those which were set in the hilts and scabbards of their swords and daggers, beside which, their waistbelts displayed some extraordinary large emeralds and rubies. They were seated, agreeable to age, the oldest in the centre, the second one on his right hand, and the youngest on his left, on a thin felt, that extended all round the circle, and over which was laid, only under them, a silk mattrass, about an inch thick, spread with a muslin cloth embroidered in a most exquisite manner with gold and silver flowers; at their backs there were three large pillows, covered with similar embroidery to that they sat upon, which, with their display of jewels, gave the whole Durbar an inconceivably rich effect. Many of the officers of Government also appeared in very good style, and the general splendour and richness of the scene far surpassed any thing we had expected to see at the court of Hyderabad." POTTINGER's BELOCHISTAN.

"We found the Ameer seated in the middle of a room attended by his various relatives, they all rose on our entrance, and were studiously polite. His Highness addressed me by name, said I was his friend both on public and private grounds, for my brother, Dr. James Burnes, had cured him of a dangerous disease. At the sametime he caused me to be seated along with him on the cushion which he occupied; he begged that I would forget the difficulties and dangers encountered, and consider him as the ally of the British Government, and my own friend. The long detention which had occurred in our advance, he continued, had arisen from his ignorance of political concerns, as he considered it involved a breach of the treaty between the states, for he was a soldier and knew little of such matters, and was employed in commanding the *three hundred thousand Beloochees* over whom God had appointed him to rule! * * * The splendour of the court must have faded, for though the Ameer and his family certainly wore some superb jewels, there was not much to attract our notice in their palace or durbar: they met in a dirty hall without a carpet; they sat in a room which was filled by a rabble of greasy soldiery, and the noise and dust were hardly to be endured: the orders of the Ameer to procure silence, though repeated several times, were ineffectual, and some of the conversation was inaudible on that account. We were however informed, that the crowd had been collected to display the legions of Sinde, and they certainly contrived to fill the alleys and passages everywhere."—BURNES' BOKHARA. 2d Edit. Vol. I.

eager crowd to the place allotted for my residence, a large walled garden about a quarter of a mile from the town, the trees of which had been hewn down, and the cultivation destroyed to make room for myself and my people. Several tents were pitched, and among the rest one of great dimensions (about forty feet long, with the walls twelve feet high,) made entirely of green cloth, with scarlet ornaments, and fitted up with cushions, carpets, couches, &c. which was intended as my sitting-room, and had really a striking appearance. I had scarcely recovered the surprise occasioned by the scene around me, which, with the occurrences of the morning, reminded me strongly of some I had read of in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, when my attention was further attracted by the arrival of several attendants bearing large trays of provisions. One of these was placed at my feet, and contained about a dozen of white metallic dishes filled with prepared viands of different description, all ornamented with gold leaf, for my own breakfast. The others held "baked meats" also, for the Mahommedans among my servants, and were accompanied by a profusion of fruit, sweetmeats, and articles of food for the Hindoos who were with me. The same ceremony was repeated in the evening; and it was only when I positively declared that I could make no use of what was so liberally supplied, that the practice was in part discontinued.

In the afternoon of the same day, I was again summoned to the presence of the Ameers, when I saw them privately, and without state or parade.

They were dressed nearly in the same manner as in the morning, but without cummerbunds and arms, and had very few attendants. Their conversation was extremely conciliatory, and referred chiefly to the subject which interested them most, the illness of Meer Mourad Ali. His Highness had been suffering for five months; and I learned that they had not sent for me until all the native practitioners had given up hopes of curing his disease, and until he himself had despaired of his recovery. His brothers, Meers Futteh and Ghoolam Ali, had died of, or rather perhaps with, complaints of a similar nature, which seem to be hereditary in the family, and he himself had gone so far as to make his will, settle his property, and prepare long written advices for his children. Under these circumstances, the anxiety of Mourad Ali and all connected with him for the restoration of his health, will be readily understood, as well as their subsequent satisfaction.

No time was of course lost in at once entering on the cure; but I encountered some difficulty at first in overcoming the habitual distrust of the Ameers to try medicine from the hands of a stranger, and suffered not a little inconvenience, personally, from being obliged to go shares with my patient in my own prescriptions, according to the Beloche rule, which requires the physician to swallow one pill before he administers another. Mourad Ali positively refused to take any remedy without this previous ceremony; and as my complaisance could not bring me to inflict on myself the nauseous dose more than twice, an unfortunate

attendant was selected as the subject of experiment, and underwent, without mercy or necessity, such a course of continued sweating and purgation, as must have left on his mind and body, any thing but a favourable impression of the European mode of practising physic. Latterly, when I became more intimate with the Ameers, the custom was dispensed with; though they took care to intimate to me that their doing so was the highest compliment they could have paid me, and even made so much of the matter, as to direct their envoy to bring it to the notice of the Governor of Bombay, as an extraordinary proof of their confidence and friendship for the British.

By a rigid attention to diet and constitutional treatment, together with the application of the most simple dressings to the disease itself, all dangerous symptoms disappeared by the 20th of November, that is, ten days after my arrival at Hyderabad. I will confess that I was myself taken by surprise; and it is hardly possible to describe the gratification and gratitude of the Ameers when I announced to Mourad Ali the propriety of his resuming, with moderation, his usual pursuits. The illness of one confines the whole family; and none of them, therefore, had breathed fresh air outside the fortress for many months. Preparations were immediately made for a hunting excursion, to which they all proceeded, and I was also invited. The Ameer suffered no inconvenience for some weeks from his disorder; while a dread of the consequences prevented his neglecting the regimen prescribed. But when

this ceased, he was guilty of some acts of imprudence and excess, which brought on a slight relapse, but did not much retard his general recovery.

The suddenness of a cure so unexpected, and which was to be attributed, in a great measure, to the removal of the irritating substances formerly applied, impressed the Ameers with the idea that there were no bounds to my skill in my profession; and some fortuitous circumstances contributed to strengthen the delusion. I had occasion to administer a small quantity of a powerful medicine to Mourad Ali, who declined taking it, even after the same dose had been tried on the luckless attendant I have mentioned, till he was positively assured by me what would be the exact effect upon himself. I saw at once that this was in their estimation a grand test of my knowledge; and it was one certainly which perplexed me considerably. Having no alternative, however, I boldly hazarded a guess, which the event, luckily for my reputation, proved correct; and this circumstance, trifling as it may seem, excited so much the attention of the Ameers that they alluded to it often afterwards.

But to nothing, in this respect, was I more indebted than to the sulphate of quinine; a remedy hitherto perfectly unknown in Sinde, and the effect of which, as it scarcely ever fails in stopping the intermittent fevers of natives, I could generally foretell with a degree of precision that astonished them. By means of this valuable medicine, I was enabled, shortly after my arrival, to cure, in two

days, a favourite child of the prime minister, who had been suffering from fever for months together, with several other persons in the immediate service of the Ameers; and I would no doubt have gone on to raise my character higher, had not their Highnesses, the moment they discovered the effect of the quinine, seized the phial which contained it without ceremony, and ordered it to be sealed and locked up for their own proper use at a future period. Even afterwards, when I myself fell sick, no solicitations could induce them to part with a single grain, though I was dangerously ill; and when at my departure, I made a request for the bottle in exchange for another, as it was one which belonged to a valuable medicine chest, the proposal was at once rejected, evidently from an idea, that it might share with its contents some supposed talismanic virtue.

Sinde would be a fair field for English quackery to flourish in. The Ameers never thought of doubting that I had the power of restoring the vigour of youth, provided I was disposed to do so; and Meer Sohrab sent me a letter from Shikarpoor, requesting me to bring to his senses one of his children who had been twelve years an idiot! Meer Noor Mahommed was disappointed that I did not possess the lamp of Aladdin or the wand of Prospero, to transform his mean and contemptible figure into the stately form of his brother Nusseer Khan. I was applied to by Meer Mahommed to remove a white speck from the neck of one of the beauties of his Seraglio, which had been born with her; and his Highness was evi-

dently displeased when my attempts proved unsuccessful. The circumstances of my interview with this lady are curious, It was proposed that I should meet her in a garden, with a wall about five feet high between us; but as I objected to this mode of examining a patient, she was brought to my tent, muffled up among a crowd of old and ugly females, her attendants. She was very beautiful, almost as fair as an European, and altogether a favourable specimen of the women of Sinde, who are superior in appearance to those of India. I saw several dancing girls, whose elegant forms might have graced the harem of the Caliph Walid.

In proportion as Mourad Ali's health recovered, the kindness and attention of the Ameers towards me increased. During my stay at Hyderabad, for the succeeding two months and a-half, every means were adopted by them that could afford me comfort or amusement. The vizier waited on me every morning and afternoon to accompany me to the durbar, where I passed six hours, and often more, daily in their company, and where they received me latterly in nearly the same manner as they did the younger princes. After the first or second visit, the ceremony of taking off the shoes, which was, I understand, rigidly insisted on during the two or three short interviews the late envoys had with them, was entirely dispensed with; and the whole arrangement of their court was changed, that a chair might be introduced for me. No entreaties could induce them to discontinue the extravagant system of entertainment for me

and my people, which was kept up to the very last day I remained in Sinde.

The conduct of a despotic prince regulates that of his followers. No sooner did the Sindian courtiers observe the disposition of the Ameers towards me, than they began to vie with each other in their obsequiousness. While I was at Hyderabad, I was visited, I believe, by the heads of all the tribes resident at court. Letters were read in my presence at the durbar, which were to be sent to the Sikhs and other allies, announcing Mourad Ali's recovery, and highly complimentary to myself, together with congratulatory addresses from Meers Sohrab and Thara, entreating that every distinction might be paid me. Persian verses, filled with the grossest flattery, were repeated daily, and appeared extremely satisfactory to the Ameers, who themselves took the trouble to explain to me the meaning of the difficult passages.

The example of the rulers had a proportionate effect on the people of Sinde. The intelligence of Meer Mourad Ali's recovery passed through the country like wild-fire, and crowds flocked from all quarters, in the expectation of obtaining relief, many of them from incurable diseases. In every direction, around the garden which I occupied, there were encampments of strangers who had come from a distance. My gate was surrounded by petitioners from morning to night; and the moment I appeared abroad, I was assailed by the most piteous entreaties for medicine

and assistance. All these demands on me I was obliged to attend to; nor is there any period of my life during which I underwent more continued labour than in Sinde. The Ameers gave me credit for my assiduity, and thanked me for expending, as they had been informed by report, four thousand rupees worth of medicine on their subjects. I assured them of my readiness to do my endeavours, but did not conceive it necessary to add, that the utmost the Honourable Company was likely to suffer on the occasion was nearer forty rupees than the amount they had alluded to.

The consequence of my unremitting exertions was a violent attack of fever, which confined me to my bed for several days. The kindness I then experienced ought not to be omitted here. The Ameers did indeed refuse me the quinine; but they were constant in their inquiries, and extreme in their expressions of anxiety. During the whole of a day in which I was delirious, Wullee Mahommed Khan, whose good feeling I had gained by attention to his children, and frequent conversations with himself, never left my bedside; and when I recovered my senses, the first object which met my eye, was the respected old man kneeling in earnest prayer for my recovery. Such Samaritanism would do honour, and might be an example, to many of a purer creed and better education.

The supreme power in Sinde is understood by foreign states to be vested in the hands of the two youngest, and surviving brothers mentioned in

the early part of this narrative, Meers Kurm and Mourad Ali, who are known, both at home and abroad, by the designation of the Chief Ameers, and whose seals are affixed to all public documents issued in the name of the government. But although these have certainly no equal in political consequence, there are, nevertheless, other members of the family who are scarcely inferior in rank to their Highnesses at the court of Hyderabad. Both Meers Futteh Ali and Gholam Ali left sons to whom they bequeathed their shares in the administration, and who, although they have been, on account of their youth and the grasping spirit of their uncles, kept much in the back ground, have lately acquired a degree of influence in the state. Meer Sobdar, in particular, the son of Futteh Ali, who had been consigned to neglect, and appeared till within these few months as an humble attendant in the train of the Chief Ameers, has, since I left Sinde, raised himself, by a successful rebellion, to almost an equality with them; and Meer Mahommed, the son of Meer Gholam Ali, would no doubt be equally fortunate, had he spirit or inclination to hazard the attempt. The two sons, also, of Mourad Ali, Meers Noor Mahommed, and Nusseer Khan, must be enumerated amongst the heads of the government.

All these chiefs are in possession of portions of Sinde, the revenues and control of which they respectively enjoy. During the lifetime of Meer Futteh Ali Khan, no division took place in this respect, and his younger brothers were content to owe to his liberality the means of supporting

their expenses and dignity. After his death, the province was portioned out into four equal shares, of which two were allotted to Gholam Ali, who engaged to pay the usual charges of the state, and one each to Kurm and Mourad Ali. Since the demise of Gholam Ali in 1811, several divisions have, at different times, taken place, and Meer Mourad Ali, on the plea of having descendants, has contrived to despoil his brother and Meer Mahommed of much of their possessions; but, with the exception of the districts in the hands of Meers Sohrab and Thara, who will be mentioned in the sequel, the country is partitioned at this moment* into four unequal shares, of which the largest belongs to Mourad Ali, and the others to Meers Kurm Ali, Meer Mahommed and Sobdar. Mourad Ali's territory is subdivided into portions for his sons and himself. Of the revenues of Sinde, I shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

In addition to the princes above alluded to, there are many other nobles of the Talpoor tribe, always resident at the court of the Ameers; but although they all enjoy the title of Meer or Lord, none of them are permitted to interfere in the affairs of the state, and they derive their lustre and importance solely from their relationship to the reigning family. Of this lineage are Meers Sohrab Khan, and Thara Khan, who command in separate districts of their own, Khyrpoor and Meerpoor. They are feudatories of the principal

Ameers, who, at the period of the expulsion of the Caloras, acquired, by their own bravery, considerable portions of territory, which they have ever since retained. Meer Sohrab resides for the present at Shikarpoor, on the borders of the Punjab, and Meer Thara at Meerpoor, in the Thurr, where they hold separate courts of their own. Meer Sohrab, though opposed at first to Futteh Ali,* appears generally to have supported the Ameers; but Meer Thara has, on more than

* "When foreign attack no longer threatened, Meer Sohrab Khan, with a majority of the Talpoory and other chiefs, proposed that the son of Meer Abdulla Khan, Meer Ghoolam Hussain Khan, who has now arrived at years of discretion, should assume the government of Sinde, to which, by direct ascendancy, he was heir, and in consideration of whose minority only, it had, it was urged, been entrusted to Meer Futteh Ali Khan. To this argument Meer Futteh Ali Khan replied by putting his foot in the stirrup. Both parties collected their forces, and, three whole days, were the ranks drawn out on either side in battle array. In this intestine contention of the Talpoory tribe, relations were divided on the different sides, sons threatened fathers, and brothers forgot their birth; the elders of the tribe wisely held out the mischief of such an unnatural butchery; and the women flung themselves between their swords to prevent it. Both parties were persuaded. Meer Ghoolam Hussain Khan acknowledged the sovereignty, and accepted the protection under which he now is, of Meer Futteh Ali Khan, and he acknowledged the independence and perpetuity of the distinct possessions of Meer Sohrab Khan and Meer Tarrah Khan. This accommodation perfected, Meer Futteh Ali Khan made a handsome provision in jaghires for three brothers he had, Meer Ghoolam Ali Khan, Meer Kurm Ali Khan, and Meer Mourad Ali Khan, according to their seniority, and in order to preserve them in an harmonious support of the general interest of the family, for which they had all laboured in the field, and Meer Ghoolam Ali Khan with signal zeal and effect, he admitted them likewise to a participation in his power, and placed their musnuds on each side of his own, an order which is preserved to the present day."—Crow.

one occasion, gone to war with them, and suffered severely as the penalty of his rashness. They are both very old men, and Meer Thara is blind with years. His son, Ali Mourad, is probably the most troublesome subject under the Sinde durbar, and has lately rendered himself well known, both to the British and Cutch governments, by the protection he has afforded the Meanah plunderers. The relationship of these leaders to the Ameers may be seen from the genealogical table of the Talpoors.*

To a casual observer, it might appear that the power in Sinde was pretty equally divided among the aristocratic members of its government; but a closer inspection will show, that the fabric, though upheld by many, is in reality for the elevation of a single despot. This is Meer Mourad Ali, whose superior energy of character enables him to carry with him the feelings and support of the other branches of the family. He is younger than his brother, but the latter is entirely subservient to his views, and in common with the rest, is willing to acknowledge him as the only efficient head and representative.

In explaining my sentiments as to the cause of this fact, it may appear overstrained to speak of the affections of the heart, in reference to Asiatic despots. Still there is one virtue for which this

* Meer Thara Khan died in August 1829, leaving his possessions to his son Ali Mourad. Meer Sohrab Khan was killed by a fall from a terrace in 1830, and has been succeeded by his son Meer Roostum Khan. This Chief was visited by Captain (now Sir Alexander) Burnes, who has given a minute description of him and his family. V. Burnes' Bokhara, 2d. Edit. Vol. I

family has ever been distinguished, which has carried with it its own reward, and to a continued exercise of which, they have owed their greatness, and Sinde its tranquillity, for the last thirty years. I allude to the personal attachment, mingled perhaps with policy, which induced Futteh Ali, on his obtaining his own power, to place the musnuds of his brothers on an equality with his own, and restrained them, individually, from any attempt to usurp the whole authority thus divided amongst them. Although it might be supposed that rival and conflicting interests would weaken and destroy so delicate a feeling as that I have now adverted to, it is nevertheless still perceptible, generally, in all the branches of the family, and induces the younger to yield a ready obedience to the wishes of the elder, and at all events to restrain their own ambitious projects, during the lifetime of their seniors. Fanciful as this opinion may seem, it is impossible that any person could have witnessed the constant anxiety and unwearied attention of Meer Mourad Ali's relations for his recovery, without coming to the same conclusion; nor can I indeed account, in any satisfactory manner, for the circumstance of a complicated machine like the government of Sinde, apparently so ill connected, having held together so long, without a kindred sympathy in its component parts.

Meer Mourad Ali Khan is about fifty-five years of age, of low stature, and stout habit of body. His complexion is rather fair, and his countenance is the index of a sullen and gloomy

mind. He is cold and repulsive in his manners, seldom relaxes into a smile, and never condescends to familiar conversation. His personal attachments are confined to the circle of his family; and whether it be affection which procures him their support, or a dread of his power, which induces them to accord it, at all events, it is a cruel and remorseless disposition, on his part, and terror on that of his subjects, which enables him to sway the destinies of Sinde. Inconsistent as it may appear, this tyrant is at heart a poor hypochondriac, constantly haunted by the fear of death and the phantoms of his own gloomy imagination. Some of his subjects deny him even the merit of personal courage, though such a supposition is highly improbable; but I have myself known him pass several sleepless nights, from a horror of the consequences of bodily derangement of the most trivial description.

The prevailing feature of Meer Mourad Ali's character is avarice; and he is ever too ready to sacrifice, for its gratification, his own dignity and the interests of his people. Seldom making promises, he even more rarely fulfils them; and altogether his character may be summed up as that of a selfish and gloomy despot, an Asiatic Tiberius, or Philip the Second, ruling a kingdom by the energies of his mind, with none of the better feelings of the human heart. His resemblance to the former of these monsters is so complete, that I cannot refrain from adding here the words of the Roman historian, as equally descriptive of both: "Multa indicia sævitiæ, quamquam

premantur, erumpere—seu natura, sive adsuetudine suspensa semper et obscura verba—odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet auctaque promeret."

The character of Meer Kurm Ali Khan forms a perfect contrast to that of his brother. He is a man of approved personal bravery, and, as far as the etiquette of the court permits, is cheerful, condescending, and even affable. Fond of dress and display, he courts popular applause, which Mourad Ali affects to despise; and till lately he was generous to profusion. Even yet he is liberal, although he now shows a disposition to follow the general policy of the Sinde court, and to hoard money. I found the public voice at Hyderabad decidedly in his favour, as a prince who was kind to his subjects and attendants, and who was strict in the performance of his promises. In person he is below the middle size, with a pleasing countenance and engaging manners. Although but five years older than Mourad Ali, he bears in his appearance the furrows of age, with traces of early intemperance; and, in all human probability, he will ere long leave his more robust and energetic brother the unrivalled actor in the scene.

Meer Kurm Ali is possessed of slender talents, though his education has been good; and he is of so indecisive and easy a disposition, that he has accustomed himself through life to regulate his conduct chiefly by the advice and wishes of others. It is not unlikely, therefore, that, were he even to survive his brother, he would sink,

not unwillingly, into obscurity, as he has no children of his own, and would probably have neither the power nor the inclination to control his nephews. On the other hand, such is the kindly feeling which exists between the brothers, that, were he to die first, Mourad Ali would no doubt inherit his treasures and possessions, and retain the sole authority in his own hands.

Meer Mahommed Khan, the son of Meer Gholam Ali, is the next in rank to the chief Ameers. He is about the age of thirty, and a handsome man, though somewhat disfigured by a hare-lip. He inherited from his father great wealth and political consequence in Sinde. For some time he took his seat on the musnud with his uncles; and, in common with them, he enjoyed the honour of a salute from the ramparts of Hyderabad, when he appeared abroad. Being, however, of a mild and unambitious character, he has renounced, apparently without regret, all this semblance of dignity; together with the most substantial part of his property, of which he has been despoiled, on various pretences, by Meer Mourad Ali and his favourite servants, from an inability to control them, or to manage his own affairs. He is singularly good-natured, quite indifferent to state or parade, and much liked by his immediate retainers, many of whom have made large fortunes in his service.

Meer Mahommed Khan has no family; and I may here remark, that it is the custom of the Court of Sinde to put to death all children born to the princes of slave women. The butchery

which this horrid cruelty engenders must be shocking, as I was assured that one member of the family alone had consigned to the tomb no less than twenty-seven of his illegitimate offspring. The authority of ages may sanction, and the rites of religion sanctify, the inhuman practices of Suttee and infanticide among the Hindoos; and we may pity, if we cannot pardon, the misguided feeling which impels the proud Rajpoot to crush at her birth the daughter, whose preservation, as in Cutch, too often ends in her prostitution; but humanity turns with unmingled horror from the monstrous barbarity I have now mentioned, which is as repugnant to the precepts of the Koran as it is to the dictates of nature, and for which we search in vain for any reasonable apology. "They are utterly lost," says Mahommed, "who have slain their children foolishly, without knowledge, and have forbidden that which God hath given them for food; devising a lie against God."

Meer Mourad Ali's eldest son, Meer Noor Mahommed Khan, is about thirty years of age, and may be considered as nearly the counterpart of his father, with all the bad, and but few of the strong, parts of his character. He was very unpopular; and I never heard of any virtue he possessed, except a selfish attachment to his parent. Accumulation of wealth is the apparent object of his life. This chief is the only one of the family who is illiterate; and I have myself been present when he was obliged to request the assistance of a servant in composing a common Persian note to his father. He has a son, a fine-

looking boy, named Meer Shadad, who has attained the age of twelve years.

Meer Mahommed Nusseer Khan is the second son of Meer Mourad Ali, and is by far the most engaging and popular of the reigning family in Sinde. He is twenty-five years of age, of handsome figure, though rather corpulent, with much dignity of manners, and a noble expression of countenance, undisfigured by the least resemblance to his father or brother. The dissimilarity, fortunately, is as complete in character as in personal appearance. Meer Nusseer Khan is as generous as they are sordid, and has lavished the treasures which were allotted him with profuse liberality; a quality which, whether a virtue or a vice, has ever been known to receive general praise and approbation, particularly in Asiatic countries.

During my march to Hyderabad, his Highness's virtues and poetical genius formed the theme of constant commendation; and, presuming that the vanity of authors was much the same in all parts of the world, I took an opportunity, on my first visit, to request, as a particular favour, that he would honour me with a copy of his works, entitled the Dewan Jaffieri, the fame of which, I added, had extended all over India. This compliment was most graciously received; and a few days after he presented to me a beautiful illuminated copy of them, with an inscription on the title-page, written by himself. If they are really his own composition, they do him infinite credit; but I

must confess that his conversation never exhibited any proofs of an exalted imagination.

The present of the Dewan Jaffieri was followed by gifts of a superior description from the other Ameers; who, although they could not compliment me with books written by themselves, begged my acceptance of elegant editions of the poems of Hafiz and Sadi, some of which had had a place for many generations in the library of the Caloras, and, in addition to their real value, were beautiful specimens of Persian penmanship. Amongst several curiosities given me at the same time, Wullee Mahommed Khan presented me with a pair of handsome green slippers, which had been pressed by the royal feet of Shah Shuja Ool Moolk, the king of Cabul, and for which he entertained a true vizier-like reverence.

Meer Nusseer Khan has ever expressed a favourable feeling towards the British government. He has been unremitting in his civilities to our native agent at Hyderabad; and, during my residence there, he was even more attentive to me than the others. He is the darling of the soldiery, from excelling in all manly exercises, and the most likely of the younger branches of the family to attain that pre-eminence which some one or other will probably in the end acquire. He does not appear a very determined or aspiring character; but it is impossible to foretell how his disposition may be influenced by a fair field for his ambition, particularly as the stream of public opinion is so decidedly in his favour.

I had no opportunity of becoming personally

acquainted with Meer Sobdar Khan, who, when I was in Sinde, happened to be out of favour at court. He made some advances to me: but the Ameers objected to my having any communication with him. He is the son of Meer Futteh Ali Khan, the chief to whom the Talpoor family owes its greatness; and he was born in 1801, a few hours before the death of his father, who had only time to entreat the kindness of his brothers to his infant before he expired. For many years Meer Sobdar was the adopted child of Meer Kurm Ali; but, being subject to epilepsy, and having one day fallen down in the durbar, in consequence of that distressing disorder, Mourad Ali Khan contemptuously asked his brother what he expected to make of such an unfortunate wretch; and since then, until very lately, he has lived in obscurity, on a paltry pension of 25,000 rupees per annum.

Meer Sobdar naturally traced his misfortunes to Mourad Ali; and when this prince was seized with his late dangerous illness, he and his few adherents could scarcely suppress a feeling of exultation at his expected death. This, together with a demand he had made publicly for the restoration of his rights, inflamed the rage of Mourad Ali; and although Sobdar was obliged, by the commands of the Ameers, to attend at the durbar, I observed that he was never addressed by any one, nor received with the slightest demonstration of respect.

But Meer Mourad Ali had mistaken, in some measure, the character of Sobdar Khan, who was

secretly carrying on intrigues with some of the surviving friends of his father, and with Meer Ali Mourad, the turbulent son of Meer Thara, to obtain a restitution of his birth-right. My presence prevented his bringing his plans to maturity; but immediately after I left Hyderabad, he found means to escape to the Fort of Islamkote in the desert, where he was joined in the course of five or six days by the conspirators and their followers, amounting to 15,000 men, and marched direct on Hyderabad. The principal Ameers were taken perfectly unawares at the boldness of the undertaking, and prudently settled matters by a compromise; consenting to grant Sobdar a share of the country, and a participation in the government. This young prince's elevation was highly unsatisfactory to all the other chief members of the family; and it is most probable, that, when a favourable opportunity presents itself, no means will be left untried to remove a barrier so prejudicial to their interests.

The personal appearance of Meer Sobdar Khan is favourable. He is about the middle size, and rather inclined to corpulency. In his manners he is formal; although, from the restraint in which he was constantly placed, I had probably no means of judging correctly of him in this respect. Great pains were, I understand, taken with his education; and although he is, no doubt, a man of weak mind, and most likely the tool only of a party, he is not deficient in literary taste and attainments, if a knowledge of Persian books and poetry can be dignified by such an appellation.

The government of Sinde is a pure military despotism; and the great misfortune of the people, next to the circumstance of their being entirely at the mercy of their rulers, is, that the latter are ignorant of the important truth, that in a well-regulated kingdom the interest of the prince and the people are identical. Like all Asiatic governors, the Ameers have no idea of sacrificing present gains, however trivial, for future advantages; and, as they unfortunately consider the stability and grandeur of their dynasty as depending chiefly on the accumulation of wealth, their course of internal policy is directed to this object, and is pursued with comparatively little benefit to themselves, and great detriment to their people. Under this short-sighted system, the imposts and taxation in Sinde are enormous, and have the effect of paralysing nearly the whole trade, and deeply affecting the industry of the country. The revenues are farmed to the highest bidders; who, as they enjoy their contracts only by the grace of their masters, and can never, on any pretence, obtain exemptions for themselves, are obliged to exert to the utmost, during their ephemeral reign, their powers of exaction and oppression.*

It has excited the surprise of every European who has cast a thought on this state of affairs, that a government, so formed and conducted, should have maintained its existence for so long

* "I am acquainted with a respectable *Lowanna* Hindoo who farmed some of the districts, and was plundered by the *Amirs*, and compelled to become a Muhammedan."—Capt. Jas. Mac-Murdo on Sindh.

a period. The family feeling which unites together the Ameers, I have alluded to; and the history of Asiatic kingdoms is the best evidence of what man will suffer with patience, and what princes may inflict with impunity. Sinde has, besides, advantages over other countries similarly situated,—advantages which, to a certain extent, enable her to struggle against the curses of misrule and ignorance. She is almost independent of the periodical rains, and of the famines and disasters too frequently attendant on the failure of these in the provinces surrounding her. Heaven has blessed her with a constant and never-failing boon in the river Indus,—that source of commerce and fertility, of which no tyranny can despoil her,—which enables the cultivator, not only to till his fields with little trouble or expense, but to look forward in due season to a certain harvest, and to transfer, should he wish it, with facility and profit, the abundant product of his toil to other countries. Notwithstanding all the opposition of the rulers, the same fruitful cause reduces the price of labour and of food lower than in Cutch; the inhabitants of which are known in seasons of scarcity to seek invariably for subsistence in Sinde, rather than to emigrate into our own territories.

I may remark further, that there are bounds to the horrors of despotism as to all other human evils; and it is but justice to confess, that the Ameers seem rather to be ignorant of true notions of policy, and misled by the delusions of prejudice, than wantonly cruel and iniquitous in their

proceedings. Moreover, they cannot be blind to the danger and hopelessness of oppressing their subjects beyond certain limits; and, luckily for the latter, the system of finance carries with it a check which operates partially in their favour. The government has seldom any greater sympathy with the farmer than with the ryot, and, consequently, is not deaf to appeals against him, or unwilling that discussions between the parties should be referred to the expounders of the Mahommedan law. Another fact is, that, as the Mussulmans are all soldiers, and have rarely money or patience sufficient to become leaseholders, the revenues are, for the most part, in the hands of Hindoos; a class which possesses little favour at court, and no influence or respectability in the country, except that of wealth. The farmers do not, as in Cutch, combine with their leases the power of civil magistrates; and, as they are constant objects of jealousy and dislike to the Muhommedan military governors of the districts, who envy their riches, and despise their persons and religion, the people no doubt profit by this application of the political maxim *Divide et Impera*. It is melancholy, however, to reflect, that the only safeguard of property in Sinde is derived from a sort of balance between the evil passions of the rulers; and that it may too often happen to be the interest of the latter to unite, with one accord, to rob the helpless villager of the profits of his labours.

Yet, even under all these disadvantages, it may be doubted whether Sinde has, for many years,

enjoyed comparatively greater blessings, or stood higher in political consequence than at the present moment. Ignorant and oppressive as her rulers are, her annals do not show that she has ever been much better governed in recent times; and they have at least the merit of having maintained her in a state of tranquil, and almost uninterrupted repose for the last thirty years. The restless and daring spirits also, who were instrumental in bringing about the revolution, which ended in the downfal of the Caloras, have, in the course of nearly half a century, either disappeared from the stage, or become incapacitated by years. The present generation know only by tradition of the murders and rapine of their fathers; and while a calm has thus succeeded the tempest in Sinde, as in all empires which have undergone commotions, a degree of order and permanency has gradually crept into the government, which was before unknown to it.

It is but too true, that there are many signs of decay and depopulation in Sinde; but the people invariably trace these evils to the season of civil discord; nor is there any evidence to show that they have increased in any unusual degree, during the administration of the Ameers, or that the latter are really more indifferent to the interests or commerce of their subjects than the later Caloras; one of whom, Meean Surufraz Khan, besides being a blood-thirsty tyrant, discouraged trade and manufacture by every means in his power, and, amongst the rest, by expelling the

British factory from Tatta.* The revenues have, without doubt, much diminished; but the defalcation in this respect is to be attributed chiefly to sacrifices wilfully made by the Ameers, such as turning large tracts of their most productive districts into hunting forests, instead of farming them out for the purpose of cultivation.†

* As a proof that the state of affairs in Sinde is not worse now than during the time of the Caloras, I give the following extract from Major Rennell, which was written before the elevation of the Talpoor family: "The Hindoos, who were the original inhabitants of Sindy, and were reckoned to outnumber the Mahommedans in the proportion of ten to one in Captain Hamilton's time, are treated with great rigour by the Mahommedan governors, and are not permitted to erect any pagodas, or other places of worship, and this severity drives vast numbers into other countries."—RENNELL's *Memoir*. Mr Elphinstone also proves that many of the present evils of Sinde are to be attributed to causes altogether independent of the conduct of the Ameers. I have already mentioned, that Abdul Nubbee had on one occasion obtained the support of the king of Cabul, and I give the words of Mr. Elphinstone to show in what manner the assistance was afforded. "About this time (1781) broke out the rebellion of the Talpoories, which ended in the expulsion of the governor of Sinde. In the course of next year, the king (Timour Shah) sent a force under Muddud Khan to reduce the insurgents, which soon overran the whole province. The Talpoories retired to their original desert, and the other inhabitants appear to have fled to the hills and jungles to avoid the Doorunnee army. Muddud Khan laid waste the country with fire and sword; and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign, and the province of Sinde is said not yet to have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion."—ELPHINSTONE's *Cabul*.

† "Almost all the hunting forests of the Ameers of Sinde lie on the banks of the Indus, occupying the best part of the soil, and extending for miles along the water's edge, these it would be necessary to clear in part, to admit of tracking up the river; but if there is one thing that the Rulers prize above all others, it is these preserves, and the proposition to touch them in any way, or for any purpose, particularly for the promotion of commerce, which

This dismemberment of the Cabul monarchy, while it has absolved the Ameers from their irksome allegiance to a lord paramount, and rendered them almost independent sovereigns, has enabled them to appropriate to themselves, without difficulty, the valuable district of Shikarpoor, which they seized about five years ago, and the additional revenues of which they now share with Meer Sobrah's family, which governs it. The same cause has relieved them from the obnoxious annual tribute of fifteen lacs of rupees, which they were bound to pay to the Affghaun court; for although Runjeet Sing has frequently intimated his intention, as head of the Cabul states, of demanding the usual subsidy, they have invariably denied his rights; and he has either been too much occupied with his neighbours, or restrained by his political engagements, to lead an army into Sinde as the only means of enforcing his claim.

A remarkable ostentation of sanctity pervades the Mussulmans of Sinde,* although the moral precepts of their faith unfortunately exert but

they so utterly despise, will, I fear, either meet at once with a decided refusal, or lead to frequent references, and occasion much delay."—CAPTAIN DEL'HOSTE's MS. JOURNAL.

* "Nothing more arrests the notice of a stranger on entering Sinde than the severe attention of the people to the forms of religion as enjoined by the prophet of Arabia. In all places, the meanest and poorest of mankind may be seen, at the appointed hours, turned towards Mecca, offering up their prayers. I have observed a boatman quit the laborious duty of dragging the vessel against the stream, and retire to the shore wet and covered with mud, to perform his genuflexions. In the smallest villages, the sound of the "mowuzzun" or crier, summoning true believers to

little influence on their conduct. There is no country in Asia, or rather on earth, so perfectly priest-ridden: it is said to possess no fewer than one hundred thousand tombs of saints, at which contributions are levied, within its limits, and the expense of its ecclesiastical establishments has been fairly estimated by Capt. M'Murdo at equal to one-third of the gross revenue enjoyed by the state. In the observances of religion the whole family of the Ameers are extremely strict; and I have seen some of them kneel down to pray in the public durbar. An extraordinary difference, however, exists among them on this important point; which, strange to say, is the most marked between the two brothers whom I have represented as so much attached to each other. The Talpoors were originally Soonnees, like the Beloches and Sindians in general; but their connection with Persia has infected the court with the heresies of that kingdom; and, with the exception of Mourad Ali and Sobdar, who are still attached to the orthodox doctrines, they have become Sheahs, or followers of Ali.

This discrepancy in religious belief appears even more remarkable, when we consider that Sir John Malcolm, in his history of Persia, has declared that the Soonee and Sheah faiths can never exist

prayers, may be heard, and the Mahommedans within reach of the sonorous sound, suspend for the moment their employment, that they may add their "Amen" to the solemn sentence when concluded. The effect is pleasing and impressive, but, as has often happened in other countries at a like stage of civilization, the moral qualities of the people do not keep pace with this fervency of devotion."—BURNES' BOKHARA, 2d Edit. Vol. I.

in any concord with each other, a stranger to the name of Mahommed being more acceptable to a zealous man of either these religions than the opposite sectary; and that Colonel Pottinger states, that the Beloches, with a few exceptions to the westward, are Soonee Mussulmans, and so inveterate in their hatred and enmity to the Sheahs, that it would be less dangerous to appear in Belochistan, even as a Christian than as a professor of that belief. The author of Anastasius also thus characterizes the two sects, "As the difference between them is small, so is the hatred proportionably intense. The Turks are all Soonnees, the Persians all Sheyis; the former are more fanatical, and the latter more superstitious."

Meer Mourad Ali's gloomy mind leads him to dwell much on the subject of religion, and to add to his other evil qualities those of a bigotted enthusiast. The rest are scarcely more liberal. At the time I was confined to my residence by indisposition, I sent a Hindoo medical assistant to bring me a report of the state of my patient; but when he went to the durbar, it was unanimously agreed, that his putting his hand near the seat of the disease might be prejudicial, and he was dismissed accordingly, with an apology to me for not accepting his services. When I left Sinde, I carried with me two gold watches, belonging to Ameers, to be repaired; but one of my servants having by chance hinted that there was a Hindoo in Bhooj who was qualified for the task, they were not consigned to my charge, till I gave a pledge that they should not pass into the hands

of an accursed *Boot Purust*, or worshipper of idols. Among the inscriptions, inlaid in gold, on a highly-valuable Damascus sword, with which their highnesses presented me, there is a verse written by their vizier, and highly applauded by themselves, containing the following charitable prayer, that a hundred thousand Hindoos may perish by its edge:—

"Of ancient steel and water I am the produce of Persia;
I am light in appearance, but I am heavy against my enemies.
When a brave man wields me with his strength.
May a hundred thousand Hindoos perish by my edge."

I had frequent discussions with the Ameers on the subject of religion. They professed to have a respect for the Christian faith, the founder of which had been esteemed a great prophet by Mahommed. Their questions and style of reasoning often amused me exceedingly, and particularly on one occasion, when they asked me whether I was one of the Christians who paid adoration to the hoofs of the ass which carried our Saviour into Jerusalem, and which they understood were still preserved as a relic in a house of religious worship in Europe. It is scarcely necessary to add, that they know nothing of the distinctions between Catholics, Greeks, and Protestants.

A spirit of religious toleration cannot be enume-

rated among the few virtues of the Sinde government or its subjects; and in no respect whatever is the oppression of the Ameers more apparent than in their zeal for the propagation of the Mahommedan faith. It is really difficult to conceive how any Hindoos should have continued to reside in the country; and the fact can only be accounted for by that attachment, which man shares with the vegetable, to the soil in which he is reared. The indignities they suffer are of the most exasperating description. They are even forced to adopt the Mahommedan dress, and to wear beards. Till lately, none of this class were permitted to ride on horseback; and amongst the few who now enjoy the privilege, a small number only in the immediate service of government are allowed the comfort and honour, as it is esteemed, of a saddle. Merchants of wealth and respectability may be seen mounted on asses and mules; animals considered so unclean, that none but the vilest outcasts in other countries can touch them with impunity; and, even from this humble conveyance, they are obliged to descend and stand aside when any bloated Mussulman passes by.

The Mahommedans are encouraged and exhorted to destroy all the emblems of idolatry they may see in Sinde. The degraded and unfortunate follower of Brahma, is denied the free exercise of his religion; the *tom-tom* is seldom heard, being only beat when permission is granted; and although there are a few temples without images at Hyderabad, the sound of music never echoes from their walls, it is in the power of any two "true

believers," by declaring that a Hindoo has repeated a verse from the Koran, or the words "Mahommed the Prophet," to procure his immediate circumcision.* This is the most common, and, by the persecuted class themselves, considered the most cruel of all their calamities; while, as it is resorted to on the slightest pretence, and always performed with a mockery of its being for the eternal happiness of the sufferer, mental agony is made to add its bitterness to bodily infliction. Such severities recal to memory the stern fanaticism which attended the standard of the Prophet on the first promulgation of Islamism, when the alternative offered to idolaters was death or conversion; and when the Caliph Omar prohibited the conquered Christians of Jerusalem from riding on saddles, ringing bells, or appearing abroad, except in a particular habit; nor is it improbable that the Ameers are stimulated by an enthusiastic ardour to imitate so sacred an example as that of the Commander of the Faithful.

Of their summary mode of administering justice towards Hindoos, I had myself an opportunity of judging. A Banian merchant came to my residence one day with several articles of cloth, &c. for sale; and, after leaving the garden, returned in the course of an hour, complaining that he had been robbed of a valuable piece of silk by one of the Sipahis of my guard. I naturally felt indig-

* "If any unfortunate *Lowánna* happens to say to a Mussalmán, "You are my brother," or, "I will accompany you on your journey," he is liable to feel the folly of his cordiality in circumcision." CAPT. JAS. M'MURDO ON SINDE.

nant at the supposed misconduct of the Sipahi, as tending to degrade both myself and the character of the native army in the eyes of foreigners, and immediately entered into a careful investigation of the circumstance. The Hindoo could produce no evidence, while the innocence of the accused was attested by numerous witnesses. I had made up my mind as to the falsehood of the charge, when I was privately apprised that the Banian was acting by the advice of my friend Gopaldass, the vakeel, who had pointed out to him the probability of my at once paying the value rather than allow the imputation of theft to rest where it was laid. I dismissed the business, therefore, telling the parties that, should I hear more on the subject, I would bring it at once to the notice of the Ameers.

The Hindoo appearing on the following day with the same story, I, accordingly, in the afternoon, informed their Highnesses of the dispute; adding, that the accusation was against one of a body, the meanest soldier of which had a character indispensably necessary to his remaining an hour in the service, that they were the men who fought the battles of the state, and that it was incumbent on me to protect their reputation; and I requested that an inquiry might be instituted, promising, in the event of there being any proof against the Sipahi, that he should be sent to Bhooj, where he would meet with the severest punishment. The Ameers heard me with great politeness; expressed their regret at the circumstance; and begged to know who the person was that had

given me so much annoyance. I replied, a Hindoo. The name acted like a charm: Mourad Ali stopped me at once by pronouncing any investigation perfectly unnecessary, and forthwith issued his commands that the offender should be confined, and admitted into the bosom of the faith; an order which I observed several persons run with alacrity to perform. On my remonstrating against this extremity, his Highness replied with a savage grin, "You do not know the Hindoos of Sinde; they are all blackguards and rascals." The catastrophe in this case, however, was luckily prevented; and I am happy to add, that I had influence enough with Wullee Mahommed to obtain the release of the culprit, unknown to the Ameers.

The bigotry which leads to these cruel excesses, betrays itself also in an unbounded and superstitious respect for the Seyuds, or descendants of the Prophet. The religious awe evinced by the Hindoo for his Brahmin priest is not more profound or abject than the veneration in which this tribe is held in Sinde. The meanest wretch, who can boast his origin from the holy stock, enjoys a place in society higher than temporal rank can bestow. Among the crowds who came to me for medicine, all readily gave place to a Seyud; and the only persons I ever saw admitted to any degree of intimacy with the Ameers were of that privileged class. No person under any provocation would dare to abuse or strike one, unless at the risk of being torn to pieces by the populace; and in consequence of the privileges and immunities they enjoy, they flock from all the neighbouring coun-

tries into Sinde, where, besides being the most insolent, useless, and lazy members of the community, they exercise a most baneful influence on the minds, and are a constant tax on the purses of the deluded inhabitants. Faqeers,* or religious mendicants, infest the public highways at Hyderabad, demanding alms in a tone of overbearing insolence, indicative of the power they possess, and affording a melancholy evidence of the moral degradation of the people.

The evils of intolerance I have mentioned are so glaring, that it is scarcely possible for a stranger to be a week in the country without their being obtruded on his notice. The Hindoo vakeel who accompanied me, was the butt of every species of ribaldry and wit that could enter the imaginations of my conductors, or their followers, on the march; and amongst the many who secretly pray for such a consummation, none seemed to have a more devout wish to see the British colours flying on the bastions of Hyderabad, than

* "Many of the Fakeers are, without doubt, virtuous men, but the great bulk are hypocritical fanatics. The universal respect shown to them seems to have corrupted the land. The mendicants in Sinde are more numerous than in any other country in Asia. They can scarcely be called beggars, for they levy tribute in crowds, and, by threats, with great arrogance: many of the common people take to this profitable vocation, which only requires some show of sanctity. This is exhibited in various ways; one of the most common is to sit all night on the house-top, and repeat the sacred name of "Ullah" (or God) as many thousand times as the tongue can utter it. In Sinde, religion takes the worst possible turn: it does not soften the disposition of the rulers, or the asperities of the people; it becomes a trade, and its worthless professors degrade it and themselves."—Sir Alexander Burnes on Sinde.

the Hindoos of respectability; who, uninvited, entered on the subject of their grievances, and discoursed largely of the cruelties and indignities to which they were subjected. The correctness of these remarks on the arrogance of the Mahommedans and the sufferings of the Hindoos has been corroborated, since the first publication of this work, by the officers who composed Colonel Pottinger's embassy in 1832. One of these, Captain E. P. Del'Hoste, of the Quarter-Master General's Department, mentions in his interesting manuscript journal, that their encampment was at times literally besieged by Mussulman mendicants, (if indeed they could be called so, for some of them were respectably dressed, wore swords and shields, and rode on horseback,) who importuned for charity as a matter of right, and declared that they would not move until they received certain sums, varying from two or three, to a hundred or a hundred and fifty rupees, which they specified. To enforce attention to their demands, they blew horns, rung bells, beat drums, and stretched their own voices to the utmost; and one of them, a Seyud, had the audacity even to seat himself in front of the ambassador's tent, under the British flag, and to address the representative of our sovereign in the following terms:—"Oh Feringee Elchee,* give me one hundred rupees or I will stay here all day; and if you do not, I will tell Meer Mourad Ali Khan not to comply with any thing you purpose, whereas if you make

* Oh English Ambassador.

me your friend, you shall get whatever you want!" Another holy man, after minutely scrutinizing Colonel Pottinger's Durbar or levee tent, which was very large and handsome, and created great astonishment, turned round to the multitude, and remarked, "what lucky fellows these Feringees are! God Almighty has made that fine tent on purpose for them."

Captain Del'Hoste being detached by the ambassador from Hyderabad, on a mission to Meer Roostum Khan, at Khyrpoor, deemed it prudent, to avoid being mobbed, and the persecution of the beggars, to adopt the costume of a native trooper. This circumstance led to the following curious adventure, which I shall introduce to give an idea of the style and domestic comforts attendant on hereditary canonization in Sinde. In passing through Halla-Gunga, a considerable town to the northward, he understood that it was blessed with the presence of a saint of surpassing holiness, named Muckdoom Noor, whom he determined to visit in his disguise. To his surprise, instead of a grey-bearded ascetic, he found a handsome young man of five and twenty, occupying, in a large house, an elegant apartment spread with the richest carpets, and decorated more sumptuously than the halls of the Ameers. His youthful reverence extended his hand with becoming dignity to be kissed, after which an amusing conversation ensued, and he condescended to ask his visitor, who represented himself as a soldier in the pay of England, if there were many Patans like himself in the same service?

whether the English were good people, and ever prayed to God? and if it were true that they were all white, and had white eyes, hair, and bodies? adding, that if so, they must be a very ungainly race. To these inquiries, and many others, Captain Del'Hoste replied with suitable gravity, and in taking his leave, like a devout Moslem, deposited an oblation of ten rupees for himself and attendants. On quitting the house, however, he ordered one of the latter to explain the real state of the case to the saint, who far from being annoyed, enjoyed the joke heartily, and sent to invite him to be his guest for several days, offering to take him out on a hunting excursion. He also gave him presents of sweetmeats, sugar-cane, &c. and commended his prudence in assuming the garb of a native, remarking, that the mendicants of Sinde were really very troublesome.

The same officer illustrates the other side of the picture by an anecdote, which I shall transcribe in his own words:—"I observed," says he, "one day a tolerably well-dressed Hindoo suddenly seized by a Mussulman Sipahi, who took off his slipper and beat him on the head and face with it. I immediately interfered, and on rescuing the Hindoo from his tormentor, inquired what crime he had committed, to which the poor fellow replied, that he had been guilty of no offence whatever, and had only come to see the show. I suggested the propriety of his making a complaint; to which he rejoined, that such a proceeding would only provoke further persecutions, for the Sipahi could easily frame a story

which would be implicitly believed, and the affair would then probably end in his being circumcised!" This is one out of a hundred instances which I witnessed, and these cruelties were of daily occurrence, as the officers of the mission can testify. On another occasion, in cross-questioning a Mussulman respecting the population of a town, I asked if the number he mentioned comprised both sects, to which he answered, "Who counts the Hindoo dogs, they are neither included nor considered?" In fact, there can, I am afraid, be no reason to question the opinions long ago expressed by the late Captain M'Murdo, that the Mahommedans of Sinde are the most bigotted, self-sufficient, and ignorant people upon earth.

The Ameers of Sinde are less sunk in sensuality and indulgence than Mahommedan princes in general. They seem to be men of too proud and ambitious a turn of character to be much influenced by the allurements of pleasure, or it is more probable that these have already palled upon their taste. Mourad Ali asked me, on one occasion, whether I had any objection to his taking *daroo*, a word which I understood in its usual acceptation of ardent spirits; and I was proceeding to explain that it would be better to avoid all stimulants, and particularly wine, for the present, when he abruptly interrupted me by begging that I would not use the name of the forbidden juice of the grape in the presence of a true believer. I found afterwards that his Highness only meant a pomegranate; and although this anecdote may

THE AUDACIOUS SEY'ID AS SKETCHED BY CAPTAIN DEL HOSTE

give an impression of display before a large assembly, still I believe it is well ascertained that the Ameers never indulge in intoxicating drugs or liquors. They have been known to dismiss persons with disgrace from their presence, who have appeared before them redolent of wine; and Bahadoor Khan Cokur, a Beloche chief of high birth, in the service of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, was suspended from his employments for a considerable time, from having been once seen in a state of intoxication. The Ameers universally objected to take medicine in the shape of tinctures, from the spirits they contained. There is not a hookah to be seen at their court, nor do any of the family ever eat opium. It were to be hoped, that this temperance on the part of the rulers had had a proportionate effect on their subjects; but experience obliges me to declare, that most of the soldiery, and many of the courtiers, are addicted to every species of indulgence that can either enervate the mind, or debilitate the body. The eating of opium is as common in Sinde as in Cutch; and I found no present more acceptable than a few bottles of brandy, and no annoyance more intolerable than incessant indirect applications to repair the ravages of unlawful disease, or to renew the powers wasted in luxury and debauch.

The Ameers commence business about two hours before day-break, when each holds a private levee, to listen to complaints, and adjust the affairs relative to his peculiar province. It is on this occasion only that they wear turbans. About sunrise they repair to their apartments to dress,

and appear shortly afterwards in durbar, where the whole family regularly assemble, and where all state proceedings are transacted. The letters which have arrived during the night or preceding day, are then thrown before them in a heap, and the time is passed in reading, or giving orders regarding them, and in conversation, till ten or eleven o'clock, when they withdraw to their morning repast. At two o'clock they again show themselves abroad, and remain together till dark, when they separate for the night to their respective places of abode. My visits were always during the public durbars; nor had I, on any occasion, an opportunity of conversing privately with any one of the principal chiefs. On retiring to their residences, the younger princes held separate levees of their own, where every thing formed a contrast to the stately ceremonial of the elder Ameers. There all restraint was thrown aside; and we visited the stables, saw boar-baiting, fencing, ball practice, wrestling, and many other species of amusement.

During the lifetime of Meer Futteh Ali Khan, and while the convulsions by which the family gained the supreme power were recent, extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent treachery or combinations against themselves. The four brothers used to eat together, and sleep in one chamber, which was lighted only at the door-way, while numbers of saddled horses and attendants were kept ready for any emergency. The continued tranquillity of Sinde for the last thirty years has at length lulled its rulers into confi-

dence; but their vigilance is still such as in a great measure to bid defiance to conspiracy. They do not now, as formerly, dine and repose in the same room; but they all pass the night in halls outside of their apartments, with their arms by their sides, and watched by trusty retainers.

Their distrust of each other is one of the most singular features in their character. I have already mentioned, that Meer Mourad Ali's illness had confined them all within the fortress of Hyderabad for many months; and when they proceed on their hunting excursions, they are too cautious to leave any one of their number behind. It was merely by lingering a few miles in rear of the rest that Meer Sobdar Khan found means to escape to Islamkote, and there raise his rebellion. Power, under such a system of suspicion and alarm, is scarcely to be envied; and I gave Meer Mourad Ali Khan credit for the justice of a sentiment he once feelingly expressed to me, and which he had copied, no doubt, from some Persian author,—that there is a heavy load, like lead, on the head of princes, the full misery of which none but princes can appreciate; a fair confession, that his was any thing but a bed of roses.

In their manners at the durbar, the Ameers were courteous, but, for the most part, haughty and reserved; nothing approaching to familiarity appeared to exist between them and their most favoured servants. When a chair was brought in for me, two couches were at the same time introduced, one of which was occupied by the principal chiefs, and the other by the young princes.

All the courtiers and attendants sat at a respectful distance on the floor, or stood outside; and I never, on any occasion, except once or twice, when Meer Ismael Shah and some favourite peerzadas, or descendants of saints, were allowed the honour, observed even their highest officers permitted to sit on the same elevation with themselves. The Ameers generally came into their levee together, and left it at the same moment. During my stay at Hyderabad, all the durbars were held in Meer Mourad Ali's apartments, on account of his illness; but it is customary for them to meet alternately at each others' residences.

I have already, in describing my first interview, alluded to their dresses, and the general style of their court. With the exception of the Cashmere shawls, and the loongies or sashes of silk and gold, which I formerly mentioned, and which are made at Tatta, the cloths worn were generally of English manufacture. As the cold season advanced, and they were obliged to lay aside the muslin tunics, their Highnesses used to appear in robes or cloaks, made of the most valuable description of Cashmere shawls, gorgeously embroidered with gold lace, and lined with the black fur of Candahar. On other occasions, their apparel consisted of European damask silk, or satin lined with some warmer material, and quilted with cotton, so as to be nearly impenetrable to a sword or a dagger. One of the best-dressed men at their court, their uncle, Meer Mahmood Khan, a particularly handsome old man, wore a surcoat of flowered pink satin. Meers Kurm Ali Khan

and Nuseer Khan were differently attired almost every morning, and I have often recognized a favourite servant clothed in the habiliments they had worn a few days previously.

But of all the things which are calculated to engage the attention of a stranger on visiting the court of Sinde, none will excite his surprise more, or is really more worthy of observation, than the brilliant collection of jewels and armour in possession of the Ameers. A great part of their immense treasure consists in rubies, diamonds, pearls, and emeralds, with which their daggers, swords, and matchlocks are adorned, and many of which they wear as rings and clasps on different parts of their dresses. They have still in their possession the emerald alluded to by Colonel Pottinger, larger than a pigeon's egg; though that is trifling compared to the one mentioned in the description of the famous peacock throne of Delhi, which was cut in the shape of a parroquet, as large as life. The fall of the Cabul monarchy has reduced to indigence and ruin most of the princes and nobility of that kingdom, and has forced them to part with ornaments of great value, many of which have been bought up, at low prices, by persons sent by the Ameers to take advantage of their necessities. Merchants, with precious stores, are encouraged to visit Sinde from all parts of Asia, in consequence of the ready market they meet with at the capital for their valuables; and one or two Persian goldsmiths are engaged at court, where they work in enamel, and contrive expedients to display the jewellery of their masters

to advantage. The art of inlaying letters of gold on steel has also been brought to the greatest perfection by these artisans.

The Ameers have agents in Persia, Turkey, and Palestine, for the purchase of swords and gun-barrels, and they possess a more valuable collection of these articles than is probably to be met with in any other part of the world. I have had in my hand a plain unornamented blade which had cost them half a lac of rupees. They estimate swords by their age and the fineness of the steel, as shown by the *johar* and *awb*, or temper and watering. One, which Meer Kurm Ali Khan presented to me, bears the Mahommedan date 1122, (A.D. 1708,) and was valued in Sinde at two thousand rupees. The armoury of their Highnesses is graced with swords which have been worn by almost every prince renowned in Asiatic story; and I have had the honour of trying the balance of weapons which had been wielded by Shah Abbas the Great, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Douranee, the present king of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, and many other equally illustrious personages. The blades are embellished with inscriptions in gold, which, in the case of those belonging to members of the family who are Sheahs, usually consist of short prayers to Huzrat Ali for aid and protection, and in that of the others, of verses from the Koran, or appropriate quotations from Persian authors. On all belonging to Kurm Ali, I observed the words *Bundah Ali Mahommed*, "the slave of the descendants of Mahommed Kurm Ali;" and on that he gave me, besides a couplet from

the Shah Nameh, there was one of his own composition, together with a stanza from the pen of Wullee Mahommed Khan. Meer Nusseer Khan presented me with one on which were inscribed six lines written by himself for the occasion, and where my own name is introduced.

The swords do not appear heavier than our common English sabres, but they are differently balanced, and I have seen one of the young princes with a single stroke cut a large sheep in two pieces; a feat which somewhat reminded me of that told of the famous Saladdin in Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of the Crusaders." There is a certain mode of striking with them, which requires great practice and dexterity, as one of Meer Ismail Shah's sons broke a very valuable blade in a similar experiment a short time before I went to Hyderabad. Our English cutlery, which is so generally esteemed throughout Europe, has little value in the estimation of the Ameers. They had never heard of a sword from Great Britain of any price; and I raised their curiosity to the utmost by informing them that his Majesty had lately presented one of his great lords (the Duke of Northumberland,) on his return from a complimentary embassy, with one worth a lac of rupees.

They seemed to be fully sensible, however, of the superiority of our gun-locks, a number of which they entreated me to beg the government to procure for them. I saw several expensive and highly finished fire-arms which had been presented to them from time to time, by our author-

ities in India, thrown aside as useless, without their locks, which had been removed to be put on their own fowling-pieces. For the shape and appearance of the latter I must again refer to the frontispiece to Colonel Pottinger's Travels in Bellochistan. Those belonging to the Ameers resemble the two there delineated, with the addition of being highly ornamented. The barrels, which are all rifled, are chiefly brought from Constantinople; they are about double the length of ours, and of a very small calibre. The Sindians never use small shot, and they place no value on pistols or detonating locks. When they observed that their jewels and armour excited my admiration, some of them made a point of appearing differently decorated every day, and always handed me their swords for examination.

The histories attached to their swords, many of which had passed through generations of kings, together with local subjects, formed the chief part of our conversation, though it often took a more interesting turn. It would be impossible for me to follow the Ameers in all their ideas and opinions, as developed by their discourse; but I shall endeavour, as far as my memory serves me, to recount a few particulars. They were evidently unwilling at first to say any thing regarding India; but when they found that I had no objection to gratify their curiosity they became extremely inquisitive. The revenues of our empire seemed especially to claim their attention; and many were the attempts made to ascertain from me the exact amount paid by the *Ijaradars*, or Farmers

of Hindostan, as they designated the Honourable Company, to the king of Great Britain, for their lease of the country. My explanation on this subject proved far from satisfactory. When I stated my belief that there was little or no surplus revenue either to the king or company, and that the expenditure of some of the governments was greater than the receipts, Meer Kurm Ali Khan exclaimed with astonishment, "How is that possible? Your power extends over five mighty kingdoms." I replied, that it was true, the territory was immense, but that our system was different from that of the Mahommedans and Mahrattas, who lived only for themselves and their own generation; that we were making laws for future ages, and although we personally did not profit, still our children and the posterity of the ryots would know the advantage of our policy. In the justice of this they seemed ready to acquiesce, for they remarked that it was by our intellectual superiority alone we held India.

On the subject of Bhurtpore they asked several questions, and amongst others, the cause of our having taken it. I answered that the Rajah had brought his misfortunes entirely on himself by an insolent and overbearing conduct, which it was impossible for a great government to submit to from any state; and that the proud fortress once called Bhurtpore, was now levelled with the dust. To this observation, which might have conjured up some uneasy anticipations in their own minds, they rejoined, that every kingdom we had conquered was divided in itself, and that no instance

had yet occurred of our having had to contend with one where prince and subjects were united in a common cause. The Ameers, no doubt, indulged the illusion, that their's was the happy principality which would, with one accord, resist a hostile invader; but I referred them to the history of all the conquests of Hindoostan, whether the courtiers had not invariably deserted their sovereign when he was likely to be unfortunate.* To the Burmese war they also once alluded, and remarked that many of our troops had perished in that struggle; to which I replied, that it had been by the climate, and added, what they either did not know, or were unwilling to allow, that the peace had been brought about by the cession of large tracts of country, and a considerable payment in money.

But no topic was so interesting to the Ameers as that of Cutch; to which they repeatedly referred, and respecting which they made the most minute inquiries. They all spoke of it as a province which would make the best hunting-forest in the world, and requested me frequently to describe the mode of sport, and particularly hog-hunting, followed by English gentlemen in that country. Their admiration was at its height when I informed them, that in a single district above

* "But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury, and dead to all principles of virtue and honour, which their corrupt factions and civil discord had wholly effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honour to murder, and no scandal to change parties."—FERISHTA.

sixty wild hogs had been killed by a small party of officers, of which I was one, in the course of a month. One day they observed, that, as the government probably required at other stations the troops composing the Bhooj brigade, they would garrison Cutch for us with five or six thousand Beloches, as a token of friendship; a proposal which, I believe, would have been communicated in a letter through me, had I not evinced marked indifference concerning it.

They often descanted on the disadvantages we had suffered by taking such a wretched country into our hands, which cost us more than it produced; and they told me once, that if government would transfer the sovereignty of it to them, they would provide the security of the richest merchants for the regular payment of a tribute equal to the present subsidy. I had the curiosity to enquire how they would profit by such an arrangement, even if it were practicable, and found it to be their opinion that the revenues were embezzled by the ministers of the Rao. On my assuring them that there was really very little wealth in Cutch, Meer Mourad Ali Khan intimated, that he could find means to extract some. As they appeared so interested, I entered into an explanation with them to show the respect we had for treaties, which, whether injurious or not, we were bound by honour to maintain; and surprised them, perhaps, by adding, that we would waste our blood and treasure as readily in the defence of Cutch, as of the richest and most productive of our dominions.

Regarding the war between Russia and Persia, and even the capture of Tabreez, intelligence of which arrived when I was at Hyderabad, they expressed no concern. The Sikh, as they termed Runjeet Sing, they generally spoke of disrespectfully, and once mentioned to me, in an indignant manner, that he would not allow one of the faithful to approach within several feet of him. With respect to the affairs of the Punjab, Meer Mourad Ali Khan asked me whether our government did not supply money to Seyud Ahmed Shah, who is now carrying on the Mahommedan crusade against the Sikhs: I expressed my wonder that any person could form such an idea, since it was notorious that the Seyud was fighting solely for the faith; but my answer did not seem to convince them, as they remarked, that though the Bombay government, whose servant I was, knew nothing of the matter, it was probably very well understood at Bengal.

Of His Majesty and the royal family, and many other circumstances connected with England, they spoke with a knowledge which surprised me, and once observed, that English sailors and Beloche soldiers were the best in the world. They knew the character and fall of the Emperor Napoleon, but were ignorant of his death. Of vaccine inoculation they had heard by report; and when I explained its advantages, they declared their intention of establishing it in Sinde, and requested me to assist them with the means of doing so. Among other subjects I told them of the grand discovery of steam-engines; but in this,

and respecting the revenues of Great Britain, they evidently considered I was making use of a travellers privilege. They were obviously much gratified to find I had a knowledge of the history of their family, of which they are exceedingly proud; and on my being shown the sword of their ancestor, Meer Bejur Khan, whose murder occasioned the overthrow of the Calora dynasty, they were equally astonished and pleased to hear me mention the circumstance of his pilgrimage to Mecca, and the treachery which caused his death.

One thing alone raised a frown on the countenances of the Ameers. In conversing one day with their minister, on the state of Cabul, I had occasion to refer in his presence to a large map of Hindoostan, and he mentioned the circumstance to their Highnesses, who begged to see so great a curiosity. I accordingly took it to the durbar, and explained its nature to them. Nothing could exceed their wonder, when I traced from stage to stage, with my finger, the various routes through Sinde, together with those to Jessulmere and Lahore; and stated that I could travel throughout the whole of their dominions, by the assistance of the map, without asking the way to a single village. It was probably injudicious, but I could not at the time resist the impulse, of covering the whole of their paltry territory with my hand, and pointing out to them the boundaries of our great and glorious empire in India. They affected perfect indifference at first, and pretended that they knew as much of our provinces as we did of their's; but they were extremely grave during

the remainder of the interview, and I understood afterwards, from some persons who remained behind me at the levee, that they again reverted to the subject of the map, without concealing their chagrin and vexation that the *Feringees* knew every thing.

In the preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to give some idea of the manners and habits of the Ameers of Sinde, while they are resident at their capital. Once or twice a month, when they are all in good health, they pay visits to their different shikaragahs, or preserves for game; and as they are attended, on these occasions, by large retinues, and never previously announce in which direction they mean to travel, they thus combine, with a passion for the chace, a species of policy which enables them to keep their several districts in awe. They take the field with hawks, dogs, &c., but their mode of killing game would have little charms for an European sportsman. They never expose themselves to the sun, but remain comfortably seated in a house till the deer or hog is forced to come before them to a small tank or well to drink, when they shoot him deliberately, and receive the acclamations of their followers.

The shikargahs are large tracts of jungle so carefully inclosed as to prevent the egress of all quadrupeds; and when their Highnesses proceed to them, all the wells, except the one in front of their tents or bungalows, are closed up, and the game is hunted till dire necessity obliges it to seek for water, at the risk of life, in the manner above alluded to. Sometimes they station them-

selves in temporary buildings, or elevated platforms, between two shikargahs nearly adjoining, in one of which several hundred matchlockmen are posted to expel the frightened animal, which, in endeavouring to escape through a passage made for the purpose into the neighbouring preserve, is intercepted and killed by the Ameers.

Game restrictions of extraordinary severity are established to guard the aristocratic privileges of the princes, the common people, except in the capacity of beaters for their masters, never being permitted to enter the hunting forests, or to destroy game in their vicinity, under pain or death,—a degree of tyranny monstrous even for Sinde, and which would almost exceed belief, did we not know, on undoubted authority, that the late Meer Futteh Ali Khan on one occasion depopulated, at a loss to his revenue of between two and three lacs of rupees annually, one of the most fertile spots in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, because it was frequented by a species of hog deer, the kota pacha, (axis Porcinus,) which he had most pleasure in hunting; and that, more recently, Meer Mourad Ali Khan unrelentingly banished the inhabitants of an ancient village, and razed it to the ground, because the crowing of the cocks, and the grazing of the cattle, disturbed the game in his brother's domain, which was contiguous.

The Ameers never hunt on horseback, but sometimes, though rarely, go out deer-shooting on camels; none, except themselves, are permitted to fire at any game; and there is scarcely a

sporting excursion which does not cost them the lives of two or three of their subjects, either from false aiming on their own part, or the fury of boars, &c. driven desperate.* Most of the grandees in Sinde, when they appear in public, are attended by their bazbans or falconers, with hawks, some of which are of great value. I saw a bird which had cost Meer Kurm Ali Khan two thousand rupees; and his Highness presented me with one of a scarcely inferior price. The best are, I understand, brought from Turkistan, and the northern parts of Cabul. I was very forcibly struck with the exquisitely embroidered hawking gloves of the Ameers, which are made of the skin of one of their favorite game animals, the Sambur (cervus Aristotelis)† ornamented with gold thread.

* As the rulers of Sinde are not particular in their mode of firing, it frequently occurs that horses, men, and camels are included in the list of killed and wounded.

The poor people are not permitted to enter the preserves, and I was informed that if caught in the act of shooting game even in their vicinity, they have not unfrequently been punished by death.—Capt. DelHoste's M.S. Journal.

† For the following description of the Sambur, and Kota Pacha the author is indebted to his esteemed friend, Captain W. C. Harris.

"The Sambur is the largest of the deer tribe in Asia, a full grown stag frequently attaining the height of sixteen hands at the shoulder. The colour, with the exception of a white under-lip, and a pale yellow disc round the eye, is tan below, and of an uniform dull brown above, varying to slate colour in some specimens, and even almost verging upon black. The hair is coarse, resembling split whalebone in its texture, and encreasing in length about the neck and shoulders so as to form a long shaggy mane, susceptible of being fully erected when the animal is excited, at which periods both the suborbital cavities, and the nostrils, are dilated to their utmost extent. These peculiarities, added to an incessant stamp-

In Sinde, as in all oriental countries, the courtiers exist only in the presence and favour of the

ing of the fore foot, and vicious grinding of the teeth, the latter accompanied by a copious flow of saliva, impart a singularly ferocious aspect, the animal being withal exceedingly muscular and formidable. The eye is small, but remarkably brilliant and *mechant*. The antlers, which are uniformly cast in the month of April, (the time at which the rutting season commences) and reproduced during the rains, augment progressively in volume with the age of the animal, until they attain an enormous size. They stand upon a short and broad pedicle, and consist of a round rugous beam, with a ponderous brow and bez-antler—the burr being pearled and very prominent. The female resembles the male in shape and colour, but is on a smaller scale, and has no horns. She produces one or two at a birth.

"The apple of the tree called by the natives of India *mendhole*, constitutes the favourite food of the Sambur, and it is attached also to all bitter forest fruits. Its cry or bell is a shrill pipe, resembling wired music, or the sound produced by striking a gong with great violence. The animal, when alarmed, also emits a sound which in the jungles might often be mistaken for the rumbling of distant thunder. At these times, the whole of the hair on the body bristles on end, and there is a cold shivering of the whole frame, which appears to create this rumbling internally. This phenomenon has never been noticed by writers on the natural history of the Sambur. It is gregarious in small troops, a single patriarchal stag being usually lord of about a score of does. Timid; vigilant, and active; endowed also with the uses of sight, hearing, and smell, in the highest degree of perfection, the Sambur is exceedingly difficult of access. Rarely descending from his chosen haunts, in the heart of the most dense and unfrequented forests; he looks down with contempt upon his pursuers from the rocky pinnacles of the mountain, whose rugged sides he has traversed with the greatest facility."—*M.S. Sporting Journal, by* W. C. Harris.

"The brown Porcine axis, the Kota pacha or Parah of the Sindians, attains the height of two feet at the shoulder, and is somewhat higher at the croup. The legs are short, and the *contour* exceedingly robust, and destitute of grace. The general colour is a deep black brown, marked with a line (or two) of white spots on either side of the spine, which, however, disappear altogether as the animal advances in age. The scut is

prince, and depend entirely on the Ameers for their rank and situation in society. Of them it is unnecessary to say much. They do not carry with them to their own houses that neatness of dress and respectability of deportment, which are exacted from them at the durbar; and as they are generally extremely poor, (the whole wealth of the country being chiefly in the hands of the rulers,) they have no means of making display. The favourites of the Ameers may be distinguished by gold-mounted swords, which are the highest honorary distinctions conferred by the Hyderabad durbar. It is contrary to the usage of the court to wear side-arms ornamented with any of the precious metals, not presented by their Highnesses; and as they are rather sparing in their favours, the honor is much appreciated. For very high services, the Ameers sometimes, though rarely, give one of their valuable blades adorned with diamonds.

It would be in vain to expect independence of feeling where all are really so dependent. The Sinde Courtiers can only retain their places by

white. The head is extremely short. The muzzle abruptly pointed and whitish—a disc of the same colour encircling the eye. The horns, which are infurcate, and occur in the male only, are more slender than those of the common axis—the brow and bez antler being simply short processes, or rather snags. The cry of the Parah is a curtailed bark, followed by a whine resembling that of the dog. These animals are usually found among heavy and tangled grass jungles along the banks of rivers, where they congregate in small troops. Being of an exceedingly irascible and pugnacious turn, they are kept by the Rao of Cutch for public exhibitions, and are then pitted like rams, their horns and faces having first been besmeared with the red powder called *Sendoor*.

implicit obedience, and the most fawning adulation to their superiors. Their propensity to flatter strangers, and even each other, is ludicrous to an European. Scarcely two persons of the higher rank ever met together in my presence without bespattering each other with the most fulsome compliments, and both joining in exalting me to the skies, by the most far-fetched and hyperbolic praises. Their ceremonious formality is truly distressing. The same inquiries after my happiness, health, &c. were seldom repeated less than four or five times in the course of a visit. The moment I rose from my chair, every man of the company did the same, and continued standing till I again sat down, when, after an exchange of salutations between all present, they followed my example. In this respect, they are, I presume, mere copyists of the court of Cabul and Persia.

From what I have said of the character of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, it will be obvious, that he is not a prince much guided by the counsels of others; nor is it easy, with a man of his cold and unsocial disposition, to ascertain on whom he really bestows his favour. None know the workings of his gloomy soul, and scarcely any can claim a share in his confidence; but there are, nevertheless, two individuals, who, from various causes, are of great importance at the court of Sinde, and who demand particular mention in this narrative. I allude to Wullee Mahommed Khan, and Seyud Ismail Shah, the chief ministers of the Ameers, of whose characters I shall attempt to give a brief outline. They both receive high salaries from

government, and have palanquins and bearers maintained for them; an honour which they share unrivalled by any other subject in the country.

The Nuwab, Wullee Mahommed Khan Lagharee, is by the Ameers themselves termed the vizier of Sinde, and, next to the principal members of the Talpoor family, must be considered the most important personage under their government. Being himself the head of a powerful Beloche tribe, which contributed in the field to the elevation of the present rulers, he has ever since been their faithful and able servant, and seems to enjoy not only the entire confidence of his masters, but, what is rare indeed in a despotic government, the esteem and respect of the people. He is the adviser of the Ameers in the management of the internal affairs of the state; and, by his adroitness and mild demeanour, has it often in his power, and seldom loses an opportunity, to avert or mitigate the effects of those shocks of tyranny and oppression which emanate from their durbar.

A sincere regard for the interest of his masters has taught this old and respectable individual the necessity of maintaining a friendly intercourse with the British government; and it is to his advice I owe not only my visit to Sinde, but the wish of the Ameers to detain me. Wullee Mahommed Khan must have attained the age of seventy; and it is to be feared, therefore, that death may soon deprive the Ameers of their best servant, and the people of Sinde of their kindest protector. His son, Ahmed Khan, a dissipated young man, about thirty years of age, possesses

none of the virtues of his parent. The Nuwab is a poet of no mean excellence; and although his verses are filled with adulation, it would be unfair to detract from his merits on this account, or to condemn him for following the example of almost every Persian writer. He has composed also several large folios on the subject of medicine, gleaned chiefly from the dreams and theories of the ancients, but which, being supposed original, have gained for him the character of a sage in Sinde. Amongst his works, I must not omit to mention a small book on the cure of diseases, written in the name of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, the merit of which is claimed by that prince.

Meer Ismail Shah is the adviser of the government in his foreign, as Nuwab Wullee Mahommed Khan is in its domestic policy. He is second only to the latter in the estimation of the Ameers, who, in addition to their religious reverence for him as a descendant of the Prophet, entertain an exaggerated idea of his judgment and experience. He is the son of a Persian who emigrated about fifty years ago into Sinde, where he was attached to the last Caloras as a state-physician, and afterwards siding with the Talpoors, received employment in their service. Ismail Shah is well known as the ambassador to Bombay in 1820, when it was expected war would be declared between the governments. The hospitality he then experienced, and the munificence of Mr. Elphinstone, formed the chief topics of his conversation with me; but it is notorious that he is faithless in the extreme, and not at all favourably inclined

to the British interest. Meer Ismail Shah is a man of respectable appearance and good address, about fifty years of age, has the silly vanity to pretend ignorance of the common language of Sinde, and never speaks, or allows himself to be addressed in any other language than Persian. He has been occasionally employed at the court of Cabul, where he informed me he was envoy at the period of Mr. Elphinstone's mission; and he is no doubt thoroughly skilled in the system of intrigue and chicanery, so requisite in an Asiatic cabinet. He has several sons holding important situations under the government, one of whom was lately at Bombay as vakeel, and another is the representative of the Ameers at Shikarpoor. He himself receives a monthly salary of eleven hundred rupees as physician, which is the best paid appointment at Hyderabad, but his prescriptions are little attended to by the Ameers.

A spirit of rivalry may naturally be supposed to exist between the two great officers of Sinde durbar; and this is not confined merely to attempts to supplant each other in the favour of their masters, but extends to particulars which would excite a smile among European politicians. They are envious of each other's fame as men of science, and especially as physicians. Both are authors, and exceedingly vain of their own productions; and without deciding here on their respective merits, on which I always evaded giving an opinion to themselves, I may observe that the Ameers have shown a correct discrimination of character, in awarding to Ismail Shah the emolu-

ment, and to the Nuwab the reputation. In their moral qualities they can bear no comparison. The Ameers repose implicit confidence in Wullee Mahommed Khan, but doubt, with justice, the integrity of his rival. In the letter of advice Meer Mourad Ali Khan had prepared for his children which I have alluded to, he urged them to follow implicitly the counsel of Wullee Mahomed, but cautioned them to be aware of Meer Ismael Shah. The former is upright and charitable, the latter proud and penurious; the one esteemed, the other feared; the Seyud owing his elevation and importance chiefly to birth and popular prejudice, and the Khan to a long life of fidelity and virtue, which, it is some credit to Sinde to say, have met their reward.

Next in importance to these officers are a few courtiers who exert a personal influence, from being constantly in private attendance on the Ameers, or as leaders of Beloche tribes. The first of this class worthy of notice is Mirza Khooshroo Beg, a Georgian slave, who was purchased about eighteen years ago by Meer Kurm Ali Khan, and whom his master now treats as an adopted child. He is not a favourite of Meer Mourad Ali Khan, and possesses little political consequence, though he was envoy at Bombay in 1823. He is a man of quiet retiring character, and is known in Sinde as the author of Persian verses, the merit of which he is willing to yield to Meer Kurm Ali Khan, who has considerable vanity as a poet. I requested his Highness one day to favour me with a couplet of his own composition to engrave on a

sword, and I observed that he immediately called Mirza Khooshroo to him, and after some whispering, produced the following verse as his own:

"I am sharper than wisdom from the mouth of Plato;
I am more blood-spilling than the eye-brow of a beautiful mistress."

Mirza Bakur is also a young Georgian on whom Meer Mourad Ali Khan seems to bestow favour. Bahadoor Khan Cokur, and Kheir Mahomed Tora, are two noblemen supposed to be high in the estimation of that Prince; and his Highness pointed out the former to me as one of the bravest and most distinguished of his followers. They are both chiefs of powerful Beloche tribes, always resident at court, where they enjoy situations of responsibility and emolument, and Kheir Mahomed Tora is mohktarkar, or manager, of Meer Mourad Ali Khan's private affairs.

Ghoolam Ulla Khan Lagharee, the brother of the Nuwab, is governor of the district of Parkhur* over which the Ameers claim sway, and has

* This district is thus described by Captain James Holland, who accompanied the field force which invaded it in 1832. "The petty territory of Parkhur is situated in the south-east extremity of the Thurr, or sandy desert, and is nearly insulated by a portion of the Runn or salt marsh of Cutch. It contains a surface of about 500 square miles, level and sandy, with the exception of some rocks of coarse red granite and porphyry: the principal of these, the Kalinjur Hill, is of considerable height and extent; the sides are precipitous, exceedingly difficult of access, and bare of all vegetation save the prickly milk-bush, and enclose a rugged, well-wooded valley abounding in water.

The sovereignty of this tract has, for many years past, been

also charge of the important fortress of Omerkote in the desert, where it is reported the members of the Sinde government have treasure to the amount of several crores of rupees. After obtaining his pre-eminence, Meer Futteh Ali Khan took the immediate precaution of seizing the immense riches of the Caloras; and as additions have been making to the heap ever since, the wealth in possession of the Ameers must be enormous. Their plan of hoarding up money, which, as I have already stated, they consider their chief security, has hitherto been successful; but it is most probable

claimed by Sinde, and a small body of Sindian troops occasionally visited it, to take the tribute, never paid save on compulsion. The hereditary chiefs of Parkhur, as of the desert generally, are Rajpoots of the Sodha tribe, (a branch of the Purmars,) principally distinguished in modern Indian history by a practice of selling their daughters, whose beauty is proverbial, a custom strangely contrasted with that of female infanticide common to most other Rajpoot tribes, and to their near neighbours the Jharejahs in particular. These Sodha chiefs derive their revenue from the produce of their flocks and herds, from the sale of their pretty daughters, and from their participation in the spoils of the Khosas, Meeanas, and other plunderers of the desert, and one of the principal chiefs of Parkhur, the Thakoor, or *Baron*, according to Tod, of Verawow, from the possession of an idol of the Jains called Goreeha, of peculiar sanctity, which he occasionally exhibits to the devout gaze of the faithful of that persuasion (the richest tribe in Western India, including most of the Banians,) for a consideration. This idol was forcibly taken from a temple in the desert by one of the earlier *Barons*.

From their proximity of Parkhur to the frontiers of Cutch, Guzurat, and Joudpoor, and its difficulty of access during a considerable portion of the year, it had long been a resort for all the disaffected and unruly spirits, for hundreds of miles roundy and the peace of the frontiers was constantly disturbed by forays from this Abatis of the East, until the Bombay Government despatched a force to chastise them in 1832, since which period they have been quiet and orderly."

that it will end like many schemes of the kind related in history, and be at length turned by some fortunate adventurer against themselves or their family; "an event," as Hume says, "which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures."

Moonshee Khoosheeram is a Hindoo, who receives one hundred rupees per month as chief secretary. He has no influence; and Meer Mourad Ali Khan has been known occasionally to stimulate him to his duty, by the gracious epithet of Qoormsak, or scoundrel, in open durbar; but all public letters are written by him, and to him is to be partly attributed the ungracious style of some of these communications; for I observed, that notes sent to me by order of the Ameers, when he was absent, were much more courteously worded than those dictated by himself. However sparing their Highnesses may be of civility in their written communications to others, they are most particular in exacting it for themselves; and, while on this subject, it may be worth mentioning, as a trait of their characters, that I was in the durbar when the letters from the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, announcing the change of government at Bombay, were presented to them by the native agent. Every word in the titles and compliments was carefully weighed and scrutinized; and I was much amused to observe Meer Mourad Ali Khan point out to his brother some expression which he amagined was less respectful in the one signed by Sir John, than in the other.

The dominions of the Ameers of Sinde extend from the district of Shikarpoor, on the frontier of Cabul, and the island of Bukkur, in the Indus, along the level plain, watered by that river, to the sea, a space of nearly three hundred British miles. Their general boundaries are, the British principality of Cutch, and the Indian Ocean, to the south; the kingdom of Jessulmere, and the Registan, or sandy desert, to the east; the mountains of Belochistan on the west; and the provinces of Sewistan and Bahawulpoor to the north. The chief cities are, the modern town of Hyderabad, the present residence of the court, which stands on the eastern bank of the Indus, nearly one hundred miles from the sea, and was only erected over the site of the ancient city of Narain-Kote, about the middle of last century; Tatta, the former Moghul capital, situated at the head of the Delta, forty miles inland, and supposed to be the celebrated Pattala of the Greeks; Khyrpoor, the principal town of Meer Sohrab's family, which is two degrees to the northward of Hyderabad; and Meerpoor, the residence of Meer Thara's branch of the Talpoors, which lies about twenty-five miles eastward of Tatta. To these may be added Larkhanu, on a branch of the river, forty-five miles westward of Khyrpoor, and Sehwan, about half way between that city and Hyderabad; Shikarpoor, which is thirty miles to the northwestward of Khyrpoor, and Curachee, on the sea coast, the only port of note in Sinde. From time immemorial, Sinde has been divided into two grand provinces, Lar and

Sirra, the former of which extends from the ocean to about Sehwan, and the latter from thence to the northern frontier, In bygone ages, the capital of Sirra, and even of the whole country, was Alore, while that of Lar was Brahminabad; but neither of these cities now exists. From personal observation, I can state that the Delta of the Indus resembles, not only in its general features, that of the Nile, but also the low country through which the waters of the Rhine are conveyed to the sea; and that the water of the Indus in January appeared to me to correspond, in taste and appearance, exactly with that which I have drank at Grand Cairo in March.*

The soil watered by the Indus is in some places sandy, but in others a fine loam or a rich clay, and when nature and industry are not bridled by despotism, its fertility, in those districts exposed to the freshes, is probably unparalleled on the globe, many portions of the country yielding rice, a hundred fold, for two, or even three successive harvests every year. The inundation commences

* The waters of the Indus do not enjoy the reputation which the inhabitants of Egypt attribute to those of the Nile, nor do they possess that lightness, and those delicious qualities, which, in the figurative language of the Egyptian Mussulmans, "would have induced their prophet, had he ever tasted them, to supplicate heaven for a terrestrial immortality, that he might enjoy them for ever." "But though an object of worship with the Hindoos, the Indus exhibits a foul and muddy appearance; and, even when filtered, the water cannot, by this mechanical process, be deprived of all its impurities, but assumes a milky or opalescent tinge."—MSS. Report on the Indus, by J. F. Heddle, Esq. of the Medical Staff, Secretary to the Geographical Society of Bombay, 1836.

about the end of April, and attains its maximum height, which, below the latitude of Hyderabad, is about twelve feet above the ordinary channel, during July and August, after which it continues gradually to subside, until in September it is altogether lost. It is less capricious in its approach, but more limited in volume, than that of the Nile; and its character rather resembles the moderate rise of the Tigris, than the mighty overflow of the Ganges, which is produced by two combined causes, the melting of the snow near its source, and the tropical rains; while the former of these only influences the Indus, whose periodical increase, consequently, seldom exceeds one half of that of the river of Bengal. The expanse of the swell in Sinde varies according to the nature of the country, but towards the sea it effects almost a total submersion of the land;* and in the upper provinces, although, from the elevation of the banks, it is incomparably less extensive, yet even there the waters are allured by the inhabitants into places remote from the usual bed of the stream, where they are treasured up in tanks, or apportioned in canals, for the purposes of irrigation. In the districts further removed from the

* "Mr. Crow mentions, that the swell is felt five miles from the bank on either side; and Mr. A. Whitburn of the Indian Navy, in describing the state of the river in August 1837, about 30 miles above Hyderabad, says, "the country is entirely inundated for the distance of five or six miles north and south; no particular course is defined, but all bears a resemblance to a magnificent lake. To avoid the strong current, we sailed across the country over a tamarisk jungle, having no less than five feet depth throughout, the tops of the shrubs appearing above water like rushes."

river, the soil is saline, and grain is less cultivated, but a superior species of grass is produced, besides various sorts of herbage for the pasturage of camels, horses, and oxen, of which last, the number is so great, that even the peasantry possess extensive herds. A traveller may journey for days in the eastern parts of Sinde without meeting with a single rock or stone, but iron ore is abundant near Tatta, and large quantities of salt are produced on the Sindian shores. There are also numerous saltpetre grounds in the country, from which, for many years, excellent gunpowder is said to have been manufactured; and several mineral springs of reputed virtue.

In the same manner that the alluvial plains of Egypt, Bengal, and Mesopotamia, have been formed by deposits from the great rivers which pass through them to the sea, so also has that of Sinde been produced by the Indus; the sediment suspended in the waters of this river, though in the present day singularly small in quantity, being identical with the superficial formation which constitutes not only the Delta, but almost every other part of the country.* It con-

* On this subject, the scientific and intelligent officer, to whom I am indebted for these Geological observations, makes the following remarks:—"But we are not warranted in deciding from the feeble action of deposit at the present day, that such extensive alluvial depositions have been created by rivers in the condition in which they are now observed. The amount of deposit formed by the Indus must be very small, as the quantity of mud suspended in its waters is limited; besides, the action of this river is not confined to carrying down mud from the upper to the lower part of its course; for in the branches of the Delta, the waters of the river contain much less mud than exist in the

sists of a foliated marl composed of argile or fine clay, and carbonate of lime, essentially, to which is associated a proportion of mica, in the form of a fine sand. These ingredients vary in their proportions in different districts, but contain generally a considerable admixture of common salt, besides carbonate of soda, and nitre; and it is the presence of these, particularly of the muriate of soda, which constitutes the difference between the soils of Bengal and Sinde, and renders the latter in many places, such as those bordering on the Runn, utterly unproductive. Low in the Delta, from the vicinity of the ocean, the micaceous particles predominate; and it is to the looseness of this soil, thus naturally produced, that we may attribute the great facility with which the Indus so often, and so suddenly changes its course.

It is difficult to ascertain the depth of the superficial formation, but it diminishes as we travel northward, until at Hilaya, twelve miles above Tatta, the subjacent formation appears on the surface, and not only forms the bed, and partly

upper part, where the current flows with the greatest rapidity, so that before the waters of the river enter the sea, they deposit in some part of the bed all the solid matter, which, where the current was rapid, they held in suspension. The mud contained in the water of the main stream at Hyderabad I found to amount to 0,218 per cent. That in the Hujamree branch, within six miles of the sea, was 0,061 per cent. The quantity of sediment contained in the lower part of the main river, Lieutenant Carless informs me, is scarcely appreciable; and that suspended by the sea near the mouth of the Hujamree, is not greater than that observed in the ocean water, along the Malabar coast near Bombay during the dry season."—MSS. Report by J. F. Heddle, Esq.

the bank of the river, but is elevated into a chain of sandstone hills, from two to three hundred feet in height, which runs for about thirty miles nearly parallel to the right bank, as far as the village of Raja-jo-got, above the town of Jerk, and performs the important office of preventing frequent changes in the channel. The rock underlying the alluvial soil, which is first seen here, consists of a clayey sandstone, very deeply coloured with iron, and presenting the varied hues of red, green, and white, which mark the description called the variegated, or new red sandstone. Its inferior portion almost partakes of the consistence of clay, but the summit is a hard sandstone, which assumes the horizontal position, imparting to the hills which it surmounts, a tabular form, while those which have been deprived of it by the action of the atmosphere, and display only the softer material, are usually of a round or conical figure. The rock contains abundance of fossil shells embedded. The superior stratum is perforated by cylindrical cavities, caused by some lithodomus mollusca, and in the lower part were collected the following genera;—Ostrea, Modeola, Fusus, &c.

The calcareous formation is first met with on the left bank, nearly opposite the northern extremity of the range just described, at a village called Tekoor, or Triccul, where it presents itself in the form of a chain of low tabular hills, named the Gunja Jibal, not exceeding eighty feet in height, which no where approach the river nearer than two or three miles. On the western side, at a distance of about fifteen miles, another

range of a similar formation is also to be observed. Both are composed of the same calcareous rock, which assumes a cavernous appearance, and is understood to belong to the shelly limestone variety; but that to the westward of the river possesses a larger proportion of organic remains. On one of the hills, situated at the northern extremity of the range to the eastward, stands the capital of Sinde along with its citadel, at a distance of four miles from the Indus. From this short account of the geology, between Hyderabad and the sea, it will be remarked, that it is to the waters of the river, rather than to the composition of the soil, that Sinde owes its superior productions.

It is scarcely possible that a country, situated on the verge of the tropic, subjected annually to submersion, and the putrid stagnations which succeed the withdrawal of the waters, can be otherwise than unhealthy; and accordingly there are few diseases in the catalogue of human woes that are not to be found in lower Sinde, especially during, and after, the season of the inundation. Fatal epidemics, and frightful pestilences, resembling in some points the plague of Egypt, occasionally devastate the land; while ague, asthma, rheumatism, and pulmonary consumption, with the long train of diseases attendant on the combination of heat with corrupt exhalations from the earth, are frequently to be met with. Dropsy and enlargement of the spleen are also common complaints; and at certain periods a virulent ophthalmia is likewise prevalent, being produced

by clouds of fine dust with which the atmosphere is impregnated.

Near the sea during the summer months, in consequence of the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, the heat is comparatively moderate, and does not exceed that on the coast of Guzerat; but in Sewistan, and the upper provinces, the temperature probably surpasses that of any part of India,* the thermometer often ranging considerably above a hundred degrees; while the dreadful Simoons or hot winds, carrying with them myriads of noxious insects, blow night and day without abatement; and render travelling impracticable, or even exposure of the person, dangerous to life. The Delta is subject to heavy dews which are supposed by the natives to be extremely deleterious, and even to occasion premature old age. In the winter season, the climate is so cold that trees are often stripped of their foliage by frost. It has been asserted that rain never falls in Egypt, and seldom in Sinde, but I have practically ascertained the fallacy of both these statements. Some parts of the Delta of the

* "The heat has a degree of intensity near Sehwan, in August, very far exceeding that usually experienced at this season in the Persian Gulf, it is indeed almost insufferable; calms are frequent, and what little breeze we obtain generally blows in light puffs at short intervals from the north-east in the morning, hauling round to the westward at the decline of day; the nights when calm are hot to a degree almost suffocating, and this evening at 10 o'clock the Thermometer stood in my little mat cabin at 104, dead calm. It was not higher than 103 and half in the warmest part of the day, but then there was a light breeze blowing, which tempered the atmosphere." MSS. Journal of a Voyage to Sehwan in 1837, by A. Whitburn, Esq. I. N.

Indus are within the influence of the monsoon; and although it was out of season, rain descended in torrents when I was at Hyderabad in January 1828, accompanied with a sensation of more piercing cold than I had ever experienced even in Europe.

The territory of Sinde is thinly peopled in proportion to its means of subsistence, and as many of the inhabitants are erratic, moving their villages according to the rise or fall of the Indus, or wandering from pasture to pasture along with their flocks, while numbers of families, like the boatmen in Holland, have no home except that afforded them by their vessels in the river, it is difficult to form any correct computation of the population. It has been fairly estimated, however, at a million of souls. Of the towns, Shikarpoor contains 25,000 inhabitants, and is the most populous city of Sinde; Hyderabad 20,000: Tatta now only 18,000; Khyrpoor and Curachee 15,000 each; Larkhanu 12,000, and Seuwan and Meerpoor each 10,000. The natives of Sinde consist of two distinct classes; the military, which generally comprises the Mahommedans, and to which the Belochees belong, and that which follows trade or agriculture, composed chiefly of Hindoos. If we may credit the information given to Captain Hamilton about the beginning of last century, the proportion of the latter to the Mussulmans was then ten to one; in which case, the increase of "true believers" must have been almost as satisfactory as the government could de-

sire, for the Hindoos are not now more than one-fifth of the community.

The character, peculiarities, and dress of the natives of Sinde, cannot be more powerfully depicted than in the following words of Mr. Crow's unpublished memoir. "They are a strong and hardy race of men, rather more fitted for fatigue than activity, and are mostly tall and dark complexioned. Those who enjoy ease and indulgence are uncommonly corpulent, which perhaps their great use of milk disposes all to be. The princes are remarkably broad and fat, and many of the Beloche chiefs, and officers of their court, too large for the dimensions of any European chair. As rotundity is so much the distinction of greatness, it is admired as a beauty, and sought as an ambition, and prescriptions, therefore, for increasing bulk, are much esteemed. The Sindians, in their tempers, are proud, impatient, knavish, and mean. Placed between Muckran and Hindoostan, they seem to have acquired the vices, both of the barbarity on the one side, and of the civilization on the other, without the virtues of either. Their natural faculties are good, and their energies would reward encouragement; but their moral character is a compound scarcely to be described, and still less to be trusted; and fanaticism, superstition, and despotism are debasing it more and more every day. There is no zeal but for the propagation of the faith; no spirit but in celebrating the Eed; no liberality but in feeding lazy Seyuds; and no taste but in ornamenting old tombs."

"The Hindoos, both the followers of Vishnoo and Shiva, are low in their caste, ignorant of their religion, and lax in their scruples. They eat meat, and drink wine, but they are, nevertheless, the most industrious and intelligent of the natives. In number with the Mahommedans, they are now about two to three only,* and the knife of circumcision is always unsheathed on every excuse and occasion, to reduce this proportion. Luckput Bunder, a port in Cutch, on the confines of Sinde, has been raised to a state of comparative opulence and commercial prosperity, by the accumulation of Hindoos, who being forcibly made Mahommedans by the Hyderabad court, detesting equally its religion and its persecution, and being disclaimed by their own caste, fled thither for an asylum, in which their common misfortune might be kept in countenance, and some ties of human fellowship still be open to them. The exercise of industry, and the display of talent, provoke oppression, instead of receiving reward. The labours of the farmer are seized by the officers of despotism, and the ingenuity of the artificer is pressed into its service. Every man therefore finds it a necessary caution to curb, rather than to spur his faculties, and a torpid state of the human mind, and neglected condition of the country, are the consequences. Of the manufacturers of Tatta, numbers have emigrated to India, and, from the mass of the people, large bodies repair

* Mr. Crow's Memoir was written about 1800.

annually to seek foreign service, of whom few return.

"When necessity does not impel to action, the Sindians show their natural sloth. They will sit the whole day and night indulging in smoking and garrulity. Intoxication, through some medium or other, is habitual to all descriptions of persons, and *Bang* or wild hemp, as the most cheap, is the most common. They make spirits both from *jagree* or treacle, and from dates, which they perfume with spices, and consume in great quantities, the Hindoos particularly. The Sindians are excessively fond of singing, and have good performers, vocal and instrumental; but they are diminishing with the other marks of the prosperity of the country. Their active diversions are shooting, and clapping with their swords, to prove their temper, and the strength of their own arms. They are good marksmen with their matchlocks, and inimitably dexterous with the bow, and a blunt heavy arrow, which they use for game, and dart in a transverse, instead of a straight direction, so that the body, and not the point of the arrow, strikes the object. With these arrows they take partridges flying, to the right and left, as surely and expeditiously as a European sportsman with a double barrelled gun. All the princes are, from great practice, incredibly expert, both with their guns and bows. In riding and the use of the sword, the Sindians have no skill, nor have they any exercise peculiar to themselves."

"The dress of the Sindians, like their character, is a compound of foreign habits. Their jackets

and caps are both unseemly imitations, one of the fashions of India, and the other of Persia; their drawers are shaped like those of the Turks. Turbans are occasionally worn, of a monstrous magnitude, and it is since the accession of the present rulers only, that the flowing robe of Hindoostan has been laid aside. The Sindians are uncommonly proud of their hair, in which particular they correspond with their neighbours the Sikhs. It is not orthodox for a Mussulman to keep the hair on his head, but it is too great a favorite here to be sacrificed, and the princes themselves countenance the disobedience by their own practice. A Sindian measures his excellence and comeliness by the length of his beard, and when it becomes white by age, stains it either red or black, an art to which the women also have recourse, to hide the greyness of their locks."

Colonel Pottinger's opinions of the Sindians are even more unfavorable than those of Mr. Crow. He states that in the countries bordering on Sinde, the term "a Sindian dog" is synonimous with "a treacherous liar;" and that the Sindians are avaricious, full of deceit, cruel, ungrateful, and strangers to veracity, but in extenuation of their vices, that the present generation has grown up under a government whose extortion, ignorance, and tyranny are possibly unequalled in the world. Mr. Heddle, however, has taken a more charitable view of the nation, in which the following remarks extracted from his official report on the Indus, which is described by the Government of Bombay as a highly in-

teresting and valuable paper. "The people of Sinde," said he, "have been much decried, but the charge has been too indiscriminately brought forward against the whole population. The large mass of the indigenous population is particularly industrious, whether in the occupation of agriculture or manufactures. The merchants of Sinde are active and intelligent, well protected, though heavily taxed, by the government, but not so much so as to prevent foreign traders from leaving their native country to reside under the rule of the Ameers. Compared to any state between the Indus and Euphrates, Sinde may be pronounced a country considerably advanced in civilization; the government, though severe, is vigilant and well ordered; too sensible of its own interests to ruin either the commerce or agriculture of the country. The people are orderly and obedient, and the laws are respected. Such at least is the impression which I have formed on these subjects during a residence in the country, too short to allow me to expect that much confidence can be placed in my opinions on questions of such a nature."

The language of the Court of Sinde is Persian, but written very inelegantly, and pronounced with many corruptions, apparently in a Hindoostanee idiom, although I did not meet with a single individual at Hyderabad who could converse in the lingua franca of India. The dewans, or Hindoo sectaries of Government, keep their accounts and records also in a sort of mutilated Persian, notwithstanding that a written language, peculiar

to their tribe, exists among the lower classes of the community. This is the Sindee, which is a strange mixture of Hindee, Pushtoo, and Punjabee, exceedingly difficult for a foreigner to acquire. The Beloches amongst themselves speak a dialect of their own, which is a medley of Persian, Arabic, Affghanee, and Sanscrit, brought together with so many variations in the different tribes, that the epistolary correspondence of one clan is often unintelligible to another.*

The most numerous of the brute creation in Sinde, are the oxen in the lower Delta, which are of a small but powerful breed, well adapted to labour. They supply food to such classes of the inhabitants as eat flesh, and larger quantities also are exported annually to India. In seasons of famine, when the periodical rains have failed for two or three monsoons successively, the mor-

* "The Persian language is cultivated at the Durbar, and taught at the public schools, and Meer Futteh Ali Khan, with characteristic inflation and ignorance, conceiving himself the Rustum of the age, and the exploits of the Talpoories worthy transmission to posterity, has employed a poet, a Sindian of more presumption than learning, to record them in verse like Ferdozi, and called the book, in rival distinction to his immortal work the Shah Nameh, the Futteh Nameh. With the same vanity, he has lately directed the loves of a Beloche pair, as related in some of the country tales, to be translated into Persian verse, upon the model of Jami's Eusuph and Zuleika, that the diffusion of these poems may establish the fame of Sinde as well in letters as in arms. The Futteh Nameh is rehearsed in durbar, and many of the courtiers mark their adulation, by committing the most fulsome passages to memory. Whenever the prince moves abroad he is preceded by a poet, who proclaims his praise in loud and hyperbolic strain, and the prince does not blush, occasionally, to animate him by a command to raise his voice."—Crow.

tality amongst them is immense. By far the most useful quadrupeds, however, for domestic purposes, are the camêls, more properly dromedaries, (camelus dromedarius,) already mentioned, which from prince to peasant are in universal request. Half immersed in mud, and supplied with fresh water only once a week, these patient servants of man attain a remarkable maturity on the furze and stunted saline shrubs of the Delta, and, when full grown, perform almost incredible journies under the heaviest burdens, finding forage in places where others less sturdily reared would inevitably perish. They are frequently inured to the saddle, being easily guided by a small cord or bridle passed through a perforation in the nostril; and even equal horses in speed, with this great advantage, that they can travel much longer, and are capable of carrying two persons with all their necessary equipment. Sometimes also they are used in harness, and are often met bearing large *tukht-i-ruwans*, or mounted palanquins, containing ladies on their travels. The draw-wells and mills are worked chiefly by them, and in time of war swivels are secured upon their backs, and used to a great extent as field artillery. The average price of a good riding camel is ninety rupees of Tatta currency, which is twenty five per cent. less than that of Bombay, but a strong baggage dromedary may be purchased for half that amount.

The breed of horses in Sinde, in consequence of the preference given to the camel as an animal of conveyance, has been much neglected,

no exertions having been made to improve it by judicious crosses, or to render it equal to that of the neighbouring countries of Cutch and Kattiwar, which have been long celebrated in India for the studs they contain. The common Sindian horse is a species of ambling poney used chiefly by the lower classes, but represented to be extremely hardy, patient of toil, and easy to the rider, whose attention to the cleanliness and comfort of his trusty steed, however, is far from proverbial. The manes of many of the horses are long, and the tails of most are allowed to sweep the ground, a considerate indulgence in a country where insects are innumerable. Nothing horrified the Ameers more than the circumstance of my horses being curtailed, or to use a Newmarket expression, *docked*, not only of their fair proportions, but of the chief protection which nature had bestowed upon them against stinging torments: and many of the people evidently believed that they were of a new species, born without tails, being unable to comprehend upon what principle beings so much superior to themselves should mutilate one of the noblest of God's creatures.

Large numbers of foreign horses, chiefly of the Turkistan and Khorassan breeds, are brought annually from Cabul and Candahar to Cutch and Bombay, where they are bought by the agents for the British Government; and as they all take the route through Sinde, and can be procured at a very cheap rate, it might be imagined that the Beloche soldiers, many of whom are cavalry, or

at any rate their chief would be well mounted. There are no fine horses of any sort however to be seen, except in the stables of the Ameers, who every year purchase some of the best from the dealers as they pass, and who, besides having excellent studs, all keep an immense number of dogs of a fierce and powerful description, most of which are also imported from the upper provinces. "I saw several large and handsome mules in Sinde, and conceiving that it might be an object to government to get them for the use of the artillery from that country instead of from the more distant ports in the Persian Gulf, I made inquiries regarding them, but am afraid they could not for the present be procured at a less rate, or more easily, than by the arrangement which at present exists. Asses, much larger than those of India, are to be met with in Sinde."*

The country contains no beast of prey except wolves and jackals, which are sometimes so ravenous as to attack the wayfarer, but as may be supposed from the extent of the preserves, game is very plentiful. The wild boar roams through every brake; the magnificent black partridge, (perdrix Cambayensis) is in almost every bush; and while

* It may be important also to know that mules, possessing fully all the qualities which render this animal so useful, are bred in Sinde, where the ass attains the development which it is known to enjoy only within a very limited geographical distribution. These animals, at present, from the circumstance of there being only a limited number bred, are high priced; but if they ever become an article of commerce, the Isle of France may derive the supply from Sinde, for which it is now tributary to the distant Brazils."—Mr. Heddle's MS. Report.

multitudes of antelopes scour the plain, the lakes and marshes are studded with wild duck, and every description of water fowl. Poultry and the domestic animals are in ample store, and besides the oxen, there are large herds of buffaloes, and flocks of goats and sheep, the latter of which, the "Doombas" resemble the well known and remarkable breed of Southern Africa. Water snakes are common in the river, but very few of the venomous species are to be met with in the fields.

The Indus teems with fish, which is a principal article of food amongst many of the inhabitants, and a profitable source of revenue to the Ameers, by whom fisheries have been established, and whose myrmidons seize a third part of the produce of every net. During the four months that precede the freshes, the palwah or sable fish (clupeanodon), which is said not to inhabit any of the other rivers of Western India, is abundant. It is large and bony, somewhat resembling in taste a combination of fresh herring and salmon, and is in great estimation, both amongst the natives and strangers. The other usual species of fish are the More (Cyprinus morar) full of bones, and of a reddish hue: the shakilar, less bony, with a large broad head, and more palatable; the T'helee (cyprinus) a tasteless fish, about twelve inches long and ten deep, the mully or jerkh, of a species of Silurus, which is six or eight feet long, with a head resembling a dog's, very coarse, and said, when eaten, to produce cutaneous diseases, and the kuttaree (a species of Pimelodus)

which is about two feet long, and has fleshy antennæ like those of the lobster over its mouth. The bombul or eel of a large size, and the porpoise nearly allied to, if not identical with, the Deplinus of the Ganges, described by Dr. Roxburgh, are likewise common.

Otters and Badgers also infest the banks of the Indus, and are destroyed for their skins, which fetch high prices in the Punjab: towards the sea alligators* exist in large numbers, and are much respected not only by the Hindoos, but even by many of the Mahommedans. Mr. Crow mentions as the tutelar god of Curachee, in his day, a scaly monster with a train of females and dependants, nourished in the muddy rivulets which flow from the hot springs near that seaport, adding, that it is singular to see these animals sometimes dozing close to the mouth of the springs where the water is almost boiling hot, and sometimes wallowing in pools which are perfectly cold; and Lieutenant T. G Carless of the Indian Navy, who visited the same scene so lately as December 1837, gives the following striking description of an alligator's banquet, which he there witnessed: 'The swamp,' says he, 'was not more than one hundred and fifteen yards long by about eighty broad, and in this confined space, I counted above two hundred large ones, from eighteen to fifteen feet long; those of a small size were innumerable. The appearance of the place altogether, with its green slimy, stagnant waters, and these

* The alligator, or rather crocodile, of the Indus is the "Gaviala Gangetica."

huge bloated shapeless monsters moving sluggishly about, was disgusting in the extreme. I was told that it was a curious sight to see them fed, and I had a goat killed for their entertainment. The moment the blood began to flow, the water became perfectly alive with the brutes, all hastening from different parts of the swamp to the spot. In the course of two minutes, and long before the goat was cut up, upwards of one hundred and fifty had collected in a mass on the dry bank, waiting with distended jaws for their anticipated feast. We stood within three yards of them, and if one more daring than the rest showed any desire to approach nearer, he was beat back by the children with sticks. Indeed, they were so sluggish, and if I may use the expression, tame, that I laid hold of one about twelve feet long by his tail, which protruded to a safe distance beyond the mass. When the meat was thrown amongst them it was the signal for a general battle: several seized hold of a piece at the same time, and bit and struggled, and rolled over each other until almost exhausted with the desperate efforts they made to carry it off. It was curious to stand by, and see such a mass of these unwieldy monsters almost at your feet, fighting and tearing each other for their food. The natives number them at one thousand, and the amount is by no means exaggerated, for every rivulet teems with them.'

The flesh of the alligator is esteemed a great delicacy by some of the river inhabitants of Sinde, and the destruction of this animal affords an excellent sport to the hunting part of the popula-

tion. The shikarees are often to be seen squatted on platforms fixed on posts, slightly elevated above the stream, awaiting their game, and armed with a sword and heavy matchlock. As a decoy, each is provided with a young alligator, attached to his arm by a cord ten or twelve yards in length, to which occasionally they throw pieces of fish; and the peculiar cry the little animal utters in devouring his food, has generally the effect of attracting to the spot a large assemblage of his kindred, many members of which fall victims to the contents of the gun, or if they approach near enough, are even destroyed by the sword. In cases where the alligator is only wounded, the shikaree will not hesitate to plunge into the water, and attack him with the latter weapon, in his own element; nor is there an instance on record of any human being having suffered in this apparently very dangerous mode of warfare, although, as Mr. Whitburn informs us, the alligators of the Indus are of a size scarcely to be credited. The comparative innocuousness of these monsters, is attributed by the natives, to the very ample supply of food furnished them by the fish of the river, which renders a search for other prey altogether unnecessary.* In this respect, they are very different from the alligators of South Africa, as described in Captain W. C. Harris' journal recently published; and which, not content with destroying his favorite dog, quitted their watery

* Mr. Whitburn's MS. Journal.

homes to devour his waggon furniture, and the shoes of his followers.*

Among the vegetable productions of the earth in Sinde, there are none peculiar to the country. In those parts subject to the inundation, rice, as has been already stated, grows in great abundance; and in the districts where irrigation is practicable, large quantities of wheat, barley, juwaree, (holcus saccharatus), indian corn, sugar cane, tobacco, with bajeree, (holcus spicatus), and moong, (phaseolus mungo), are also produced. Cotton is likewise cultivated in a few places, and also indigo, which forms one of the chief dyes of the country, besides being exported in considerable quantities. Vegetables for food are scarce, the chief being the sweet potato, (convolvulus batatas), which is much esteemed by the people; but there are in the markets, at proper seasons, a moderate supply of mangoes, figs, mulberries, bheers, (ziziphus jujuba), jamboos, (eugenia jambolana), cucumbers, and water melons, with an inferior description of dates, gourds, (cucurbita laganaria), and cocoanuts. Apples produced in the country of a small size and paltry appearance are also sold in the bazars of Tatta in April and May, where four hundred of them may be purchased for a rupee; and large quantities of delicious grapes, carefully packed in small boxes with cotton, are annually obtained from Cabul, from whence also apples and pears, similar to

* Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa, by Captain W. C. Harris, of the Bombay Engineers, 1838.

those of England, are procured. The Ameers presented to me a large rosy-cheeked apple, the first produce of a garden in Candahar, which had been sent to them by express; and it will perhaps excite the surprise of my readers at home, when I add that I considered it so precious, as well as curious, it being the first I had seen for seven years, that I enclosed it in a tin case, and dispatched it on a further journey to a friend in India.

Wood for fuel,* well adapted for steam purposes, is abundant, but notwithstanding the immense tracts of jungle, there are no forest trees in Sinde, and all the boats on the Indus, as well as the beams of houses, are accordingly constructed of timber imported from Malabar. The babool, (mimosæ, Arabica et farnesiana) peloo,

* "One of the varieties of wood from the creeks, the "Tewur," (Soneratia apetula) was found, in the steamer, to answer better for the purpose of fuel, as a substitute for coal, than any other kind which we tried, and indeed so well, that for river navigation, in which a vessel must always come to at sunset, this kind of fuel does not appear inferior to coal. The supply, it is important to notice, will be found inexhaustible; for the localities which produce these shrubs are very extensive, and enormous supplies have been drawn from the coasts of Sinde, perhaps for centuries, without any sensible diminution. Further, the desertion of the whole north-west parts of the Delta by the fresh water of the Indus, tends to increase the domains occupied by these plants, which consist principally of the following species: the "Tewur," (before mentioned) the "Chawur," (Aegicerus Majus) and two species of Khandel Rhizophor; these kinds are common to the shores of India. This fact is the more important, as wood is scarce in all other parts of Sinde, and the babool, which is one of the most common, as well as the best adapted for the purposes required for fuel by steamers, would furnish only a limited supply."—Mr. Heddle's MS. Report.

(salvadora persica) and the lye, or tamarisk (tamarix indica) grow almost every where, but can scarcely be dignified as trees, although some of them attain great dimensions in the upper provinces. The banian tree (ficus indica) is also to be seen occasionally. In the uncultivated regions, those which cluster round the pools of brackish water, are principally sickly specimens of the peepul, (ficus religiosa) and the neem (melia azadirachta), while the vegetation of the desert is almost entirely confined to the thorny milk bush (euphorbia antiquorum); the swallow wort (aselepias gigantea); the juwansee of Ainslie, (hydasarum alhagi); the kureel (caparis), and the shrubs of the tamarisk. Amongst the furze and brush wood in the Delta, there is a plant very prevalent, remarked by Captain Del'Hoste, and termed by the natives darun or lanah, which is the chief luxury of the camel. At a distance, it resembles English heath, but on closer inspection, is found to possess a purple stalk, bearing a bitter saline sort of berry, nearly as large as a grape. In enumerating the vegetable productions, the Panna grass,* (typha elephantina,) with its long sword-like leaf, and strong tortuous roots, should

* "The natives of the district where this plant grows, are well aware of the services rendered by it; for in collecting the leaves, which they manufacture into matting, they cut the plant close to the soil, but do not disturb the roots, the use of which they appreciate. The dried leaves, from their cellular structure, contain much air, and this property is taken advantage of by the native, who ties them into bundles, which serve as bladders, to support him in swimming the rivers: they are likewise used as floats by the fishermen."—Mr. Heddle's MS. Report.

not be forgotten, for, as Mr. Heddle correctly observes, its services in some districts are of the utmost importance, by endowing the banks of the Indus with a degree of firmness which prevents the perpetual falling in, that forms so inconvenient a feature in many portions of the river's edge.*

With so many other points of similitude to Egypt, Sinde is singularly deficient in monuments of architectural art, either of ancient or modern date. The old castle of Sehwan, the erection of which is attributed to Alexander the Great, is perhaps the only veritable relict of the age of the Greeks which can be traced,† and coins have been lately found in it, which, when submitted to the careful inspection of Mr. Prinsep, will probably attest its high antiquity. It is a mound of earth, nearly eighty feet in height, by fifteen hundred long, and eight hundred broad,

* "Honey should be mentioned as one of the natural productions of the low strip of the Hajamree; it is produced by bees, which feed on, and attach their combs to the maritime shrubs which I have mentioned, particularly the Aegiceras: the honey is much superior to any procurable in the west of India, being solid, perfectly crystalized, white, and well flavoured. No particular care is taken in rearing the bees."—Mr. Heddle's MS. Report.

† "After the subjugation of one, and the death of the other of these chiefs, (Oxycanus and Sambus,) the Macedonian hero returned to the river, and, as we are informed, built a citadel at a commodious and commanding point; from which particular notice, I have no scruple in saying, that it must have been at the present Sehwan, that fortress being seated on a high hill that overlooks the ferries across the Indus and Larkhana rivers, and otherwise admirably situated to awe the surrounding tracts."—Pottinger's Belochistan.

intersected with subterraneous passages.* Of the ancient city of Alore, once the capital of a mighty empire, extending from Cashmere to the peninsula of India, scarcely a trace remains. It was situated nearly in the parallel of the present town of Bukkur, a remarkable fortress erected on a rocky island in the Indus, fifteen miles to the northward of Khyrpoor, and was abandoned so early as the second century of the Hejira, in consequence of its being forsaken by the river, which before that period flowed under its walls, several miles to the eastward of the present channel. From a similar cause, the ancient cities of Debal Sindy, which occupied a site between Curachee and Tatta, and of Braminabad, or Kullan Kote, which was near the latter place, were also deserted, although at what date, it is difficult to surmise, leaving scarcely a wreck behind. At Shahkapoor, a populous village in the vicinity of

* "A mile and a half to the southward of the castle are the ruins of another ancient building, which is termed the house of the four friends; this appellation is derived from an old legend, generally believed, that, six or seven hundred years since, four friends, all most devout and exemplary Mussulmans, built a house of prayer on this spot, and being vested with supernatural power by their prophet Mahommed, in reward for their zeal, they commenced and completed an undertaking, in comparison of which all our modern Thames and railway tunnels must hide their diminished heads; this was no less than excavating a subterraneous passage from hence to Mecca. In one of the clefts of the hill a deep cavern exists, which doubtless first gave rise to this story. The Sindians stoutly assert, that the old road is even now in excellent repair, and that if a good Mussulman had but resolution to make the attempt, he would quickly find himself at the holy city, transported thither by an extraordinary short route."—Mr. Whitburn's MS. Journal.

Meerpoor, are still to be seen the remains of an extensive fort and city, said to have been the residence of Dahooda Rai, the last of the Soomra Princes, who flourished about the year one thousand and three hundred of our era. The bricks which form part of these ruins are of large dimensions, measuring twenty inches by eight. Captain Del'Hoste also mentions some substantial remains of masonry in the river at Jerk, about twenty-five miles below Hyderabad, which he conjectures to be connected with Alexander's voyage. I have never heard of any ancient inscriptions having been found in Sinde.

With the exception of the Jumma Musjid, or great Mahommedan temple for the assemblage of "true believers" at Tatta, and the tombs of the Caloras and Talpoors at the capital, there are no modern edifices indicating taste or durability, in Sinde. The former was erected so late as the reign either of Shah Jehan, or of Aurungzebe, and by one of these sovereigns; but it is already a gloomy dilapidated building, in which "the moping owl doth to the bat complain." Such of the royal tombs as belonged to the Caloras are crumbling gradually to decay; and were it not for the feeble exertions of a few hoary servants of the fallen house, who still flit about these mementoes of bygone days, to strew flowers upon the graves of the mighty dead, they would soon be overgrown with grass, and utterly destroyed. An old man who appeared the guardian of the mausoleums of Meean Gholam Shah, and Meean Gholam Nubbee, both of which are large and

elegant buildings, in the Moorish style, insisted on my taking off my shoes before I entered them; and complained that they had been despoiled of the marble with which they had been faced, by the connivance of the Ameers, who were desirous of obliterating all recollections of the Caloras.* I had no opportunity of visiting the shrine of the famous Lal Shah Baz, the Saint Januarius of Sinde, whose mausoleum is at Sehwan, where his memory is adored with all the fervent fanaticism

* "December 26, 1835.—Visited the tombs of the Caloras and the Talpoors. These memorials of the past and present dynasties stand on the same hill on which the city of Hyderabad is built. This hill, in shape somewhat semicircular, is very level, about eighty feet high, and one and a half miles long, by seven hundred yards broad, its convex side fronting the river. The line of its direction is north by east, and south by west. Hyderabad occupies its south end, the tombs the north. The tombs of the deceased members of the reigning family are grouped at a distance from those of the Caloras. The only handsome one of the Talpoors is that of Meer Kurm Ali: display characterized this prince in life,—and he has carried his love of pomp to the grave. The edifice is chaste and handsome,—its figure a square, capped with a fine cupola,—and the heaviness of the whole is much relieved by a tower in each angle. The tombs of the Talpoors are kept in excellent repair;—those of the Caloras are entirely disregarded. The mausoleum of Gholam Shah Calora is really a beautiful structure. Its figure is a large massive quadrangle; within, the marble is the purest, and the design and execution most chaste. This best specimen of the arts in the capital of Sinde is sadly neglected, and fast falling to decay: Gholam Shah Calora must have been a powerful sovereign: the magnitude of a tomb is no bad criterion for future ages to judge of a sovereign's power."—MS. Journal of Lieut. Wood, I. N. 1835-36.

"The Mausoleum of Meer Kurm Ali was attended by Seyuds and fakeers, and was quite clean, and handsomely finished: there was a vacant space on the left side of the interior tomb, which, we were told, was reserved by Mourad Ali for himself,—a degree of foresight which I should not have imagined his Highness would have indulged in."—Capt. DelHoste's MS. Journal.

that characterizes the nation; and I shall accordingly introduce here a description of it, abridged from the manuscript journal of Mr. Alfred Whitburn of the Indian Navy, who made a voyage up the Indus so late as August 1837.

"The vicinity of Sehwan," says this officer, "abounds with numerous mosques and tombs which are kept in good repair; the exteriors of some having an elegant appearance from the elaborate carved work, and the coloured tiles, with which they are decorated. The mausoleum of the great Lal Shah Baz surpasses all the rest in magnificence. From its appearance without, I wished to inspect the interior, and found there was, on the score of different faiths, no obstacle: but the liberality of the late Embassy had given the fakeers such an idea of riches possessed by all Englishmen, that I found it was impossible to satisfy my curiosity without presenting a donation which I could ill afford, and I accordingly dispatched the moonshee to obtain an account of it. He describes it as a perfect square surrounded by a verandah, the outer surface being curiously inlaid with bricks of different colours. The entrance to the interior is by means of a door of precious wood, plated over with beaten silver, and the portico is profusely adorned with carving and enamel. The shrine is situated at one end, and is devoid of the ornamental embellishment which distinguishes the outside. The tomb is overhung by a canopy of cloth of gold, supported on twelve slender pillars covered with silver corresponding with that on the door. Every Friday, the dra-

pery is changed, and on the days of the new moon, dancing girls attend, decked out in ornaments, and their most gaudy attire, to dance and sing within the holy walls. The reason of this strange custom I know not, but probably, as the Sindians are very superstitious, they imagine by so doing they conciliate the ghost of the old Kalundur. The natives believe every thing the fakeers assert, and amongst others, that the enormous flag-staff erected in the court yard, nearly as bulky as a six hundred ton ship's main mast, was presented to them by the hand of the Almighty, who also conferred a similar favor on a tomb at Tatta. A further proof of their credulity may be inferred from the current belief respecting a tiger which they always keep here; the present animal is of large dimensions, amazingly fat, having for his daily allowance a whole sheep, and the moollahs maintain that when these beasts die, another monster of the jungle marches without delay to Sehwan, and coolly walks into the iron cage to occupy the place of its predecessor. The mosque of Lal Shah Baz is enclosed by an outer wall, and within the court sit usually above a hundred and fifty fakeers, who are considered part of the establishment, and annoy every visiter by their clamorous importunities for money."

In a country where property is so insecure, and where no man's house can be considered his castle, it would be dangerous and unsafe to construct a spacious residence, which might easily be transformed into a convenient storehouse, barrack, or granary for the state, by a summary mandate

from the authorities; and consequently, the domestic buildings in Sinde are entirely destitute of elegance and substantiality. Even in places beyond the reach of the inundation, or such as Sehwan, where, in consequence of the vicinity of a chain of mountains, termed the Lukkee, stone is abundant, respectable dwellings are seldom or never to be found. Those of the city of Tatta are the most striking in their appearance, both from their loftiness and dimensions; but their composition is merely wood and wicker work, plastered with earth and cow-dung, coloured so as to imitate stone; while the houses of Hyderabad, Meerpoor, and all the other towns, are insignificant flat roofed erections of mud mixed with chaff, rarely two stories in height, with very few windows, and irregularly arranged in narrow dirty lanes scarcely deserving the name of streets. The Tandas, or hottelries, of the Beloche chiefs at the capital are usually a number of small buildings grouped together in a court-yard, surrounded by a mud wall and surmounted by a bare pole or flag staff, the latter being apparently an emblem of rank, which they enjoy in common with the fakeers.

It has been stated that the revenues of Sinde have become much deteriorated during the reign of the present rulers, and nothing can be a more striking memorial of the perseverance with which they have pursued their gross and barbarous policy of ruining the country to enrich and gratify themselves, than the fact, that, even including the amount collected within the principalities

of Meerpoor and Khyrpoor, which yield respectively to their chiefs the sums of five, and ten lacs of rupees, the aggregate revenue realised by the state does not exceed forty lacs, although so lately as the time of the first Caloras it was double that amount. The Ameers collect their land revenue chiefly from the farmers, in kind, in the proportion, it is said, of three fifths of the produce; and the grain thus obtained, they either retail to their subjects at advanced prices, or force upon the dealers at a value fixed by themselves. One cannot but remark the singular coincidence between this system, and that lately established in Egypt by Mahommed Ali Pasha, whose policy, however, it would be injustice to liken to that of the Ameers in any other respect. The Pasha's money is often liberally bestowed in great public improvements, while that collected by the Talpoors is invariably either converted into jewels, or deposited in some of the secure treasuries of the family, where it is withdrawn entirely from circulation. With the consent of the Ameers in fact, no specie has ever quitted Sinde, for even in the days when they were obliged to pay tribute to the king of Cabul, they contrived to content that distant sovereign with a great portion of it in the manufactures of Tatta, which they first obtained cheap, and then transferred to his Majesty at a false and exorbitant valuation. The actual revenue of Sinde is of course greater than what has been mentioned, several large domains having been alienated from the state from remote ages to support the Seyuds, and religious esta-

blishments, while many of the Beloche magnates possess property, and enjoy immunities in reward for their services to the reigning dynasty.

As the state religion of Sinde is taken from the Koran, so the system of Jurisprudence is derived from the same source, and when exercised between two subjects of the more favoured creed, would appear to be pretty fairly administered by the Kaze (Cadi); but, as this functionary can listen to no complaints against the government, and holds his situation only by the sufferance of the Ameers, it will be evident, that he can be no check on their Highnesses, though privileged by his code to be so. The administration of justice costs little or nothing to the state; and although I have never heard of criminals being punished capitally, merely to save the expense of their maintenance as under some Hindoo governments, yet it is not unusual to see prisoners, attended by their guards, begging for subsistence in the public streets.* I have in another place given a specimen of the manner in which justice is dispensed to the Hindoos, who for the most part

* "While at Sehwan, I noticed a very economical method pursued by the Ameers in disposing of their prisoners. I met a man with his right foot inserted in one end of a heavy piece of wood, about three feet long, while at the other extremity a rope was made fast, which he held in his hand. When the unfortunate wretch desired to walk, he was obliged, by means of the line, to lift the log at every step he took. He was preceded by a government sipahi, who, with a bag pendent from his neck, solicited charity for the culprit from the passers by: half the produce received by this novel proceeding he retained for himself, and the other was appropriate to the maintenance of the prisoner."—Mr. Whiteurn's MS. Journal.

prudently settle their differences among themselves by punchaets, or arbitration, without a reference to the ruling authorities. The Beloches seem generally to take the law into their own hands, and to act on the simple principle of retaliation; nor do the Ameers often interfere with them, except where individual disputes extend to whole tribes, when they are obliged to settle matters by force of conciliation. A serious quarrel of this sort took place, from a most trifling cause, while I was at Hyderabad, and called for the mediation of their Highnesses, who sent for the contending parties to the durbar in my presence, and with much flattery and address, obtained a promise from each to desist.

It is a proof of the unwillingness, or perhaps inability of the Sindian court, to settle the feuds of the Beloche chiefs, even in cases where it might be supposed that there were strong inducements to do so, that Ahmad Khan Lagharee, the son of the Vizier, was obliged to flee the country for some years, in order to escape the vengeance of Bahadoor Khan Cokur, one of whose nautch women, or dancing girls, he had seduced. The unfortunate female was of course instantly put to death without remorse; while her paramour betook himself to Lahore; but nothing could soothe the wounded pride, and insulted honour of the indignant Cokur, except the humiliating spectacle of the ladies of Ahmed Khan's and his relative, Wullee Mahommed Khan's families proceeding in a body to his house to implore pardon for the offender, and to offer themselves as an atonement

for his crime. After this public exposure, than which nothing could be more degrading in a Mahomedan country, Bahadoor Khan extended the hand of forgiveness, but retained for his harem one of Ahmed Khan's sisters, who has never since been heard of.*

If we can believe the description given of Tatta, when Nadir Shah visited it about the middle of last century, the commerce and manufactures of Sinde must have sadly dwindled away.† Historians relate, that besides immense wealth in jewels and goods, that celebrated conqueror found in the city no less than forty thousand weavers of calico and loongees, or silk embroidered cloths, besides artisans of other descriptions, to the number of twenty thousand, exclusive of the bankers, grain-dealers, and shopkeepers, who were estimated at sixty thousand. The whole population of the place does not now exceed sixteen or eighteen thousand souls, most of whom are in the lowest state of poverty; nor can a loongee of any value be obtained in the bazar, without having been

* Captain Del Hoste's MS. Journal.

† It would appear, from the following extract from Tavernier's Travels, written about a century before Nadir Shah visited Sinde, that the commerce of Tatta had even much fallen off in his days, which he attributed to the faithlessness of the Indus. I quote from an Italian edition published at Bologna in 1690, and, strange to say, given to me by the Ameers of Sinde, whose servants had taken it from an unfortunate native of Rome, who passed through Hyderabad in 1827. "Or'il commercio di *Tata*, che gia fu grande, e molto calato, perche l'imboccatura del fiume sempre va peggiorando, di modo che la rena ammucchiandosi ne chiudo quasi che ill passo."—*Viaggi da Gio; Battista Tavernier, Barone d' Aubonne, Parte Seconda, Cap. III.*

expressly ordered beforehand, and the price advanced. We cannot attribute this deterioration altogether to the Ameers: during the dissentions between the rival families, many of the merchants forsook Sinde, and settled in India; nor must we shut our eyes to the fact, that the revolution produced in Indian society by ourselves, could not but hasten the downfall of a city like Tatta, whose luxurious manufactures were supported chiefly by a native aristocracy, which we have superseded and extinguished. The fanciful taste of the princes and courtiers for swords and jewellery, as already mentioned, still affords occupation to a few native, as well as foreign workmen at Hyderabad, where the various kinds of arms, such as spears, matchlocks, and shields, used by the humbler classes, are also chiefly manufactured. Sinde has long been famous for embossed and embroidered leather work, in the form of ornamented gloves, boots, cartouch boxes, &c.; and there is yet a manufactory at Sehwan, where carpets, nearly of the same fine material, and equally bright in colour with those of Persia, are occasionally fabricated for the use of the Ameers, few others being able to purchase them. The Sindians are exceedingly expert in wood and lacquer work, and one of the most remarkable productions of their ingenuity is the enamelled tiles, resembling those of the Dutch, with which their mosques and tombs are decorated.

The exports from Sinde, or home produce, are saltpetre, salt, rice, cotton, ghee, oil, oil seed, sharks' fins, bark for tanning, alkali, calico, and

felts; and from the kingdoms and provinces to the northward, they bring, chiefly for exportation, assafœtida, saffron, leather, hides, madder, musk, alum, drugs of various kinds, Cashmere shawls, dried fruit, diamond, lapis lazuli, turquoises, and other precious stones, bedellium, and gums. The imports from India are iron, tin, steel, lead, copper, broadcloth, glass, chinaware, cocoa-nuts, indigo, areca-nuts, muslin, gold-cloth, velvet, silk, satin, sewing silk, thread, shields, &c. &c. From Khorassan, Persia and Arabia, the Sindians have, for home consumption, swords, silk, carpets, dates, rosewater, conserves, tobacco, coffee, and kullyans.* The horses and fresh fruits from Cabul and Candahar have already been mentioned, and it may be added, that large quantities of Malwa opium, intended for the China market, are conveyed on camels, by Jessulmere, through Sinde, to be shipped at Curachee for Damaun, the traders in that drug, strange to say, continuing still to prefer a circuitous route through the territories of the Ameers, by whom considerable transit duties are exacted, to the more direct one afforded by our dominions. Although the present miserable poverty of the people of Sinde forbids the hope of mercantile interchanges to any extent with them; yet the natural advantages of the country for commerce need scarcely be pointed out: security to trade and property is alone required to render the Indus the medium of introducing our manufactures among vast nations,

* Pottinger's Belochistan.

which, occupying climates resembling that of our native land, would gladly welcome the products of British industry, and offer to the speculations of our ingenious and enterprising countrymen ample encouragement and reward.

In no respect were my expectations more disappointed than in the military force of Sinde. Having lived for sometime in Cutch, amid frequent rumours of attack and invasion, I had, in common with most others in that province, imbibed the idea that there was a powerful body of troops maintained at Hyderabad. But it is quite the contrary, and with the exception of a small corps of Beloches, who are kept to garrison the fortress, the armed retainers of the Ameers are few in number, and contemptible in appearance. Several of the chiefs of the tribes, however, most of whom hold their lands on military tenure, reside constantly at court, and are able to collect, in the course of a few days, by some means resembling the fiery cross used by our own forefathers, their various followers, who at other times are employed in agriculture, and different peaceable occupations. In this manner, it is said, the government can assemble about forty thousand men, to whom, while in active service, I find by Captain Seton's Report, that it allows a pice each *per diem*: but I presume this must be either a mistake, or a regulation of former times, as I heard of horsemen being entertained at the respectable salaries of thirty rupees *per mensem*. The Sindians have abundance of artillery, consisting chiefly o' purchases or pre-

sents from the English during their ancient connection with Mecan Gholam Shah Calora, and of guns obtained from the Portuguese and Dutch, but they would require the assistance of expert Europeans before they could be available. A case might be supposed in which the whole Mahommedan population would rise *en masse*; but as patriotism is unknown in this quarter of the globe, nothing except a fiery zeal for religion, fanned into a flame by some designing enthusiast, is ever likely to produce such a result.

Though the iron rod of the Ameers has repressed the daring spirit of the military classes of their subjects, and the general tranquillity of the province has left their energies to slumber for a while, they may yet be considered as a body of marauders ready to take arms for any cause which will afford them support, or which offers a prospect of plunder. Like hungry vultures, they would almost seem to "scent the battle from afar;" for the train of dissension is no sooner lighted, than war becomes their universal cry, and it is incredible in how short a period they flock to their rendezvous. Meer Sobdar's late insurrection was settled in the course of a few days, but not until twenty or thirty thousand volunteers had joined the different standards, and numbers were crowding in hourly when the adjustment took place. In the field the Sindian soldier has no discipline; and as his pay is generally contemptible, and frequently uncertain, he conceives himself fully privileged to supply his wants at the expense of the villages on his march. He

is acknowledged to be brave and hardy, and as a hired soldier in the East may probably rank next to the Arab, but his reputation is far higher in his own country than any where else. His vanity and gasconading are proverbial: from the general down to his meanest follower in the camp, every man makes his own past and intended exploits, or those of his ancestors, the constant theme of his conversation and contemplation; and it is remarkable with what patience they listen to the empty vauntings of one another. The army of the Ameers, when collected, presents a motly and ill-accoutred assemblage of mercenaries from all quarters; and it is composed chiefly of adventurers who have descended from the mountains of Belochistan, to one of the tribes of which, that of Rind, the reigning house traces its origin.

The Ameers are, I believe, perfectly aware of the utter hopelessness of any defence they could make, in the event of an invasion by our government. Many circumstances proved to me, that "the magic of our name linked with success," and the feeling not to be wondered at, which pervades the eastern world, generally, of its being "the will of God," that till a certain period, we shall prove victorious in all our enterprises, have not failed to exert their superstitious influence on their anxious and foreboding minds. In their attempts to conceal their terror, they adopt means which inevitably lead to a detection of it; such as the vaunting and imperious style of their letters to foreign powers, and their endeavours to

impress strangers with an exaggerated estimation of their dignity and importance. Like many men in private life, who contrive for a time to cloak their ignorance under a formal manner and distant deportment, they well know that a closer inspection would infallibly expose their weaknesses; and hence arises their jealousy of our acquiring a nearer or more intimate knowledge of their country or of themselves.

Such flimsy pretences could never blind an individual who has visited Sinde, and witnessed the true state of affairs. Of the few walled towns in the province, all are contemptible, and scarcely one deserves the name of a fortress. The fortifications of Curachee are mean and insignificant. Omerkote, the repository of the wealth of the court, which has so long been supposed unassailable from the report of its being environed by a sandy desert of great extent where no water is procurable, has been ascertained, by late inquiries, to be within a few miles of a branch of the Indus, and utterly untenable. The city of Hyderabad, as already described, is a collection of wretched low mud hovels, as destitute of the means of defence, as they are of external elegance, or internal comfort; and even the boasted stronghold of the Ameers, which surmounts their capital, is but a paltry erection of ill burnt bricks, crumbling gradually to decay, and perfectly incapable of withstanding for an hour the attack of regular troops.*

* "The fortifications of Hyderabad consist of a high wall and a high citadel, upon which some very heavy guns are planted. The wall is thin, but supported inside by a great depth of earth,

LOWANNAS OR HINDOOS OF SINDE.

SINDEAN BOY.

149

The nobility would, in all probability, and, as is usual with Asiatics, desert their masters in the time of trouble; and although I have no doubt the Talpoor chiefs would themselves, on a hostile invasion, bravely perish in defence of their sovereignty and treasures, it is scarcely possible to conceive a more easy, or as far as the people generally are concerned, a more willing conquest, were our victorious arms turned in that direction, than Sinde would prove, unassisted by any of the countries in the neighbourhood.

Were such an event to happen, as happen in all probability it will, from causes as uncontrollable as those which have led to the already mighty extension of our empire, there is no district which would better repay the fostering care of a mild and enlightened management than Sinde. The people of that country and our government might mutually congratulate each other and themselves, on the advantages they had gained; and while the one was grateful for the introduction of the free institutions and a benignant rule, the other

partly original and partly piled up, which would make a breach difficult. The citadel is entirely brick work, but very thick, and the figure perfectly circular, of not more than one hundred yards diameter. There is a dry ditch round one side of the fort, and low ground on the other. The circumference of the wall may be three quarters of a mile; it has few embrasures, and commanding angles or outworks. The figure of the fort comes nearest to an oblong square, but stands upon one side of the extremity of a long and narrow rocky hill, steep in its declivity every way. The country surrounding this rock is an island formed by the Indus, about six or eight miles broad, and twenty or thirty long, well cultivated, and annually inundated by the periodical swell.' —Crow.

might glory in the acquisition of a valuable and productive addition to its dominions. Agriculture and commerce, which are now languid from ignorance and taxation, would gradually revive and flourish under the new and better order of things; and the local advantages of the province, combined with security to property and impartial justice, would invite settlers from other countries, whose families would recruit the lost population, and whose energies, unfettered by religious bigotry or military despotism, would have full scope, encouragement, and reward. Then the river Indus, might once more become the channel of communication and of wealth, between the interior of Asia and the peninsula of India; while Sinde herself, equally interesting to us from classic association, and from sympathy with her present sufferings, would rise renewed to claim a due importance in the scale of nations, and to profit by the benefits which nature has bestowed upon her.

By the beginning of January, Meer Mourad Ali's health had been perfectly re-established, but still the Ameers showed no disposition whatever to consent to my leaving Hyderabad, and I ascertained, what I had previously suspected, that they wished to detain me altogether. Mourad Ali Khan had once or twice asked me whether I had any objection to remain with them; and although I had always evaded his questions by explaining that I was a servant of the government, without whose permission I could do nothing, he had often reverted to the subject, and had requested

my opinion whether Sir John Malcolm would agree to my returning, even should I leave Hyderabad for the present. Wullee Mahommed Khan now informed me that he had recommended the Ameers to make the proposal at once to government; and although they were evidently unwilling to gain their object in this manner, I was privately apprised that some circumstances had occurred, which induced them to protract my departure as long as possible.

About the end of December two vakeels arrived from Shah Shuja Ool Moolk, the exiled king of Cabul, and the pensioner of our government at Ludiana, loaded with presents to the Ameers, and making a demand that the district of Shikarpoor should be restored to his Majesty, who proposed proceeding there in person to collect followers, with a view to regaining his lost empire. The king's proposal was accompanied by a threat, privately intimated through Meer Ismail Shah, that if the Ameers did not immediately accede to his request, it was his intention to transfer his undoubted sovereignty over Sinde to his faithful allies the British, who, he declared, were preparing to assist him with troops and money in his ambitious enterprises.

The whole message appeared to me from the first an empty bravado on the part of the fallen monarch; but the Ameers, although they had courage enough to reject at once the proposal, felt by no means easy at the appalling intimation which accompanied it, and which conjured up, no doubt, to their recollection many a long ar-

rear of subsidy unpaid, and much harsh conduct to the unfortunate house of Cabul to be accounted for. Their alarm was heightened by another circumstance, trifling in itself, but which in their jealous minds amounted to "confirmation strong," of combinations against them. About the time the vakeels arrived from Ludiana, intelligence was also received from their agent at Bahawulpoor, that an English officer had arrived there, and had been treated by the chief of that principality, Bahawul Khan Daoodpootra, with great respect. It occurred at once to the Ameers that he had been sent to assist in Shah Shuja's schemes; but, as far as I could ascertain by the most particular inquiries, he was a traveller unconnected with government, who had probably taken that route from Bengal to Europe, and was thus innocently the cause of much terror to the court of Sinde.

Even in the bright days of the Afghaun monarchy, the respect and obedience which the rulers of Sinde paid to their lord paramount, were exceedingly remiss; and their annual tribute to his treasury was seldom yielded till a powerful army had advanced to extort it. It is not from characters like the Ameers that we can expect reverence for fallen greatness; and accordingly the few members of the royal family who, since the ruin of the Douranee dynasty, have sought refuge at their capital, have been treated with undisguised contempt. While I was there, a nephew of the king Timour Shah, passed through on his way to Bombay, to solicit a share in the charity which has been extended to so many of his ill-

fated relatives by the British government. He is the grandson of the great Ahmed Shah, but, like most of his house, is now a wanderer without a home. He was too proud to visit the durbar of the Ameers; and they considered that they had shown him hospitality enough by sending him seventy-five Bombay rupees. He had only two attendants, and found an asylum in a mosque like a common beggar. His distress and disappointment were evident when he learned that Mr. Elphinstone had left India; and he was so poor as to be obliged to ask me for assistance. I gave him a letter to Captain Walter, the Assistant Resident, by whom he was liberally entertained at Bhooj.

Shortly after leaving Cutch, I had been summoned as a witness to attend a general court-martial at Surat, and it was now announced to me by letters from the prisoner, that the trial could not proceed till I made my appearance. I therefore felt extremely perplexed how to act; for I was unwilling to relinquish an opportunity, which had so unexpectedly offered, of establishing a British influence in Sinde, should it be considered an object; while to the wishes of the Ameers and their vizier I could hold out no encouragement, as I was ignorant of the policy of government, and dreaded the responsibility of subjecting it to the necessity of an ungracious refusal, were a letter dispatched to Bombay at my suggestion. I lost no time, however, in referring the matter by an express messenger to Cutch; but, as the resident was absent, I could obtain no

definitive orders without waiting for a considerable interval. It was necessary, without delay, to adopt some course which would meet both emergencies; and I accordingly resolved to propose to the Ameers to leave them for the present, and to return after I had appeared before the court-martial; and, in the meantime, also to ascertain the commands of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

The Ameers met my communication by informing me, that they were making preparations for a visit to Sehwan, to which they were going in a body, to return thanks at the shrine of the famous Lal Shah Baz, the patron saint of Sinde, for the recovery of Meer Mourad Ali's health, and where it was their wish that I should accompany them. I was truly sorry to forego so favourable an opportunity of seeing the country, but I felt it my duty to press the absolute necessity of my departure; and, although they were extremely averse, they at last consented, under an agreement that I would meet them again on their return to Hyderabad in the course of a month or six or eight weeks. I considered that my object was now gained; but I had to appear no less than six days successively, to take my leave; and their Highnesses insisted on my deferring my departure for another day. At length, when it could no longer be delayed, they paid me the compliment of asking by which route I should like to return; and as I at once decided on going down the Indus, one of their state barges was got in readiness for me, and their cousin Meer

Ghoolam Shah, the grandson of Meer Bejur Khan, mentioned in a preceding part of this narrative, was ordered, as a great mark of respect, to accompany me to the place of embarkation.

On the morning of the 21st January, I paid my last visit at the durbar of the Ameers, and the adieus on both sides were, I believe, not unmingled with regret. Their Highnesses expressed themselves more than ever thankful: and I had an opportunity of reiterating my acknowledgments for the continued hospitality and respect I had experienced in Sinde. I was accompanied to the river side, a distance of about four miles, by several of their chief officers, and amongst these, by my old friend Wullee Mahommed Khan, who presented me with a copy of his poetical works at parting, and who, unknown to me, had sent several articles which might contribute to my convenience among my baggage. Having embarked at twelve o'clock on board the boat which was prepared for me, together with some officers, whom the Ameers had deputed to attend me, we immediately weighed anchor, and continued a delightful voyage at the rate of about three miles an hour till evening, when we moored for the night near Triccul. The barge was a large flat-bottomed vessel, resembling a steam-boat in appearance; fitted up with the greatest attention to comfort, and supplied, as usual, with every necessary and luxury the country could afford, for my attendants and myself.* On the deck were erected two

* "The Jumtees are the state barges or pleasure boats of the Ameers. They are exclusively kept for the above purpose, and

wicker bungalows, one of which, destined for my accommodation, was as large as an officer's tent, and nearly of the same form, being covered with scarlet cloth, and lined inside with chintz. A fleet of smaller boats accompanied us, having on board the horses, camels, &c.

By daybreak on the 22d, we again glided down the stream, and arrived opposite Tatta at nightfall. I had omitted to inform the Ameers of my wish to visit that famous city; but this, I was resolved, should not prevent my taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity to do so. On the morning of the following day I accordingly rode to it, a distance of about four miles from the river, through a woody country, and passed hurriedly along the streets to the large mosque, which I was most anxious to see. The officers who were with me expressed no objection to my visiting the city; but as they had received no orders from the Ameers, they declined dismounting from their horses, while I was engaged in a hasty glance at the different objects of interest; and I

to convey officers of the Government from district to district. Most of them are large and roomy boats; unwieldy but safe. In the cabins of some, the carving is elaborate, and if kept clean, would be becoming. The reverse is sadly the case: much of this affection for filth is inherent in the boatmen, but still more is to be attributed to the nature of tracking, and their very dusty country. The Jumtee's appearance on the water is striking; the clumsy party-coloured pennant streaming from the raking mast, the huge oars, the elevated stern, and peculiar form of the boat, stamp the whole as foreign. The appearance of this boat as she approaches the capital, decked out in her best, is perhaps more characteristic of Sinde than any other object to be found in the country." The Jumtee's crew are a noisy set, but for pressed men, wonderfully good humoured."—Lieutenant Wood's MS. Journal.

was constrained to return to the boat, having seen only enough to excite my curiosity, without gratifying it, and not having had an opportunity of conversing with a single inhabitant. I was for a few minutes in the house erected by Mr. Crow, formerly commercial agent in Sinde, a large building in the native style, situated near the centre of the town, from the roof of which I had an extensive view of the surrounding scenery. Tatta still retains many memorials of its ancient grandeur. The extent of ground which it covers is immense; and the remains of tombs and mosques, which are to be seen all around, would almost warrant a belief in the tradition of the people, that it was once twelve Sindian coss, or about thirty English miles in circumference. It was there that I saw the only respectable houses in Sinde. Unlike those of Hyderabad, the buildings of Tatta are generally elevated, though many of them are now ruinous and dilapidated.

On the 24th, we again pursued our voyage, and this day I had an opportunity of ascertaining the remarkable fact, that the Indus, about six miles below Tatta, divides into two large arms, the western of which, though apparently the smaller at first, was represented to be, for the season, the main river, carrying its waters to the sea by the ports of Lahoree and Darajee, and corresponding in this respect with the Mehran,* de-

* "The Indus is described, by all the early Arabic geographers, under the name of *Mehran*, which was meant to designate the large river rising beyond the Himala mountains, while the appellation of Sind Rod, or Sind River, was given to

scribed by Major Rennell. There is nothing of this bifurcation of the river in any of our published maps; although it corresponds exactly with the description given two thousand years ago by the Greeks. "This realm," says Arrian, "the river Indus incloses, in the form of the Greek letter Δ, and it is much larger than the Egyptian province of that name. Near Patala the Indus divides itself into two vast branches, both of which bear the same name to the sea." L. VI. c. 17, 18.—Our fleet of course entered the eastern trunk, which is termed the Sita, and I was landed in the evening at a place bearing the same appellation, not far from Peer Putta, which was visible about ten miles off, in a westerly direction. This great branch of the river is said soon to divide into several streams, which communicating with each other, convey its waters into the ocean, chiefly at Wanyanee; but I was told, that during the periodical swell, I could reach Busta-bunder

the Punjund. It is described as occupying a valley running from the east to south-west, and at its junction with the sea, the site of the city of Shagirah, distant two days from Debal, is mentioned by Masudi. This would appear to be the same place as Tatta. Ebn Haukal, the Arabian traveller of the 10th century, says—"Of the *Mehran* it is said that the source is the river Jihoon; it comes out at Moultan, and passes on to the borders of Besmoid and by Mansourah, and falls into the sea on the east side of Dambul. The waters of the river *Mehran* are pleasant and wholesome; and they say it is liable to tides or flux and reflux, like the Nile, and that it is infested by crocodiles." Edrisi also remarks, "Dicimus igitur partem hanc initium sumere é mari Persico, & á plaga ipsius saptentrionali bruab urbon Dabil, eam que distare ab ostio fluminis *Mehran* tribus stationibus esseque illam in media via, quœ ducit ad Mansura."—MS. by James Bird, Esq. F. G. S.

by it, and consequently the Luckput creek, or real easternmost branch of the Indus.

If this be the case, and we were to suppose that Alexander the Great navigated the Sita, most of the circumstances of his second voyage down the river, so long a subject of discussion, might be accounted for. The lake in which he arrived abounding with fish, may either have been the Runn,* or the Luckput creek, which is ten miles wide near the sea. After passing the lake, he made three days journey† along the coast, ordering wells to be dug as he went. Geographers have differed about his entering Cutch; but supposing he landed near Narraensir, and marched, as Dr. Vincent calculates, sixty miles, he must have reached Sandan in the Abbrassa, and passed through the country now occupied by the villages of Bheyr, Jackow, and Kotarah, all of which may be said in consequence to be classic ground. The situation of Xylenopolis,‡ as laid down in the maps of ancient geography, is nearer that of the modern town of Luckput than Narraensir: and if we are to believe that Alexander landed there,

* Arrian's description of the lake would apply to the Runn, flooded as it was when Alexander sailed down the river. "When he had sailed down the left branch, and was now near the mouth thereof, he came to a certain lake formed by the river, spreading wide over a flat country, or by additional streams flowing in from the adjacent parts, and making it appear like a bay in the sea."—l, vi. c. 20.

† "Then going on shore with a party of horse, he travelled three days along the sea coast to view it, and try if he could find any bays or creeks to secure his fleet from storms."—l, vi. c. 20.

‡ Xylenopolis means the city of woods; a most inapplicable term certainly, to the present Luckput and its vicinity.

and still performed a march of sixty miles, he could not have proceeded further than Jackow. It is barely possible that Pattala, instead of occupying the site of the present Tatta, and the ruins in the neighbourhood, may have been situated where the modern town of Jerk is placed, and, in that case, Alexander might have navigated the Pinyaree branch, which passes by Bunna, Laiqpoor, Meerpoor, and Mugrbhee, and which being a large river in August and September, would also have conveyed him to the Luckput estuary. The Residency Moonshee informs me that within the last twenty-six years, he and his family embarked at Tatta, and ascending the main river, sailed down by this identical branch to Cotasir in the Luckput creek.

These speculations rest entirely, however, on the supposition that the Indus is now nearly the same as it was in the days of the Greek expedition, than which nothing can be more uncertain; and they are hazarded, not only from the natural desire which, in common with every educated individual who visits Sinde, I entertain to illustrate the history of its classic river, but also in the hope that they may be useful to some future traveller. I felt a strong desire to collect a number of facts regarding the Indus; and during my stay in Sinde, as well as since my return, I have examined several natives on the subject; but all I can gather from them are accounts of its inconstancy, and of the many and sudden changes it has undergone, even in the short period of their personal experience. A very intelligent

young native of Khorassan, whom I brought with me from Hyderabad, where he had resided many years, in explaining to me this peculiarity of the river, said it was so little to be depended on, that a person embarking at any of the higher stations, with the intention of proceeding by a particular stream to the sea, could not be certain of finding the branch below Tatta he proposed to navigate, and of the existence of which he had been assured a few days previous to the commencement of his voyage. The banks of the river were generally low and shelving; a description, I believe, which applies to those of the Indus for many miles from its mouth. During the whole of our passage I remarked few signs of cultivation, except occasionally a field of mustard; the country being a jungle laid waste for hunting forests, or, as in the approach towards Tatta, and on the western side, a desert hilly district.

The foregoing observations on Alexander's route are abridged from a memoir which was attached to the last edition of this work: and since 1830 the ancient geography of the Indus has afforded a theme of animated discussion to several highly qualified individuals. The result has been, that minute investigations have been instituted by officers on the spot, and various dry channels discovered in the Delta to embarrass the classical enquirer, in addition to the marks of the caprice of the river previously recorded.* The elaborate

* "The Indus, as a river, has few merits, except its periodical swell; its stream is foul and muddy, and so full of shoals and shifting sands, that flat bottomed boats only are safe, and scarcely

dissertation also of the late Captain M'Murdo, who devoted several years to the investigation of the subject, and which was first published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834, has, I conceive, established satisfactorily from authentic sources, that the main stream of the Indus, up to the desertion, in our seventh century, of the great city of Alore, which was situated on its bank, was the branch described as quitting the present river above Bukkur, and penetrating through the desert by Omerkote, but which having been dam-

any others are used; its course is excessively crooked, and, towards the sea, very inconstant. By a strange turn that the river has taken, within these five and twenty years, just above Tatta, that city is flung out of the angle of the inferior Delta, in which it formerly stood, on the main land towards the hills of Belochistan. By another change Shah Bunder is left dry, and the Lahory Bunder branch so much more favoured by the stream, that it is perfectly fresh now at a point, where, a few years ago, it was salt even at low water; this point is near the Bunder of Lahory. Marks of the caprice of the river abound in the lower country, the most striking of which are the bed of a large stream now perfectly dry, about five miles from Curachee, and about five miles further, at a place called Giussary, a creek which opens from the sea, and is still navigable, for at least fifty miles, when it shallows, and leaves only a dry channel, where it is said to have been formerly met by the river, from traces still evident, and the fact is confirmed by the ruins of a city said to be the ancient Tatta or Debal Sindy: on the eastern bank of this creek, about forty miles from its mouth, there are the ruins of another, it is said still more ancient, Tatta or Debal Sindy, in the heart of the Delta, which, upon examination, would most probably prove to have been abandoned from the faithlessness of a branch of the river, which had at first perhaps invited its founders. This is probably the case with Brahminabad, called by the natives Kulan-kote, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta, and the inhabitants have a distinct tradition, which appearance confirms, of the river running close under the walls of that town. 'The only mouth of the Indus now open to Dingies is the one leading to Lahory bunder."—Crow.

med up for many ages by an embankment placed across a valley near its commencement, still termed the Alore bund, now conveys scarcely any water except during the floods; although, in many portions of its course, it yet presents a dry channel of great breadth, and retains the name of the "Puran," or ancient river. Even in modern times, however, as has been already stated, and before the erection of more recent embankments in the lower part of its course, this stream entered the Luckput creek at all seasons; and it is a remarkable fact, that on a partial destruction of the Alore bund, an immense volume of water forced its way through its channel to the ocean, by Luckput, so lately as 1826.

These facts render it not improbable, that as the Indus rolled its waters to the sea, by a channel many miles to the eastward of its present course, the Luckput estuary may have been the great western mouth first navigated by the Greeks, particularly as it nearly corresponds with the enlargement of the embouchure described by Arrian.* In this view of the case, Cutch must have been the Pattalene, while the eastern branch of the Indus may have flowed into the gulf of Cutch, between that country and Guzerat, a conjecture not unsupported by tradition, which speaks of ancient seaports on the Runn, and of large quantities of grain having been produced by fresh

* "And as it now approached the sea, the stream appeared enlarged to two hundred stadia."—ARRIAN—"An exaggeration which no computation of the stadium, no allowance for the overflowing of the river, can justify!"—VINCENT.

water on its borders. Another Pattala would require to be sought for than Tatta, the site of which, it would appear from Mahommedan historians, was scarcely peopled, and utterly unproductive at the time of the Arab conquest, and even until the change in the course of the river had supplied that part of Sinde with water; but it is useless to indulge in surmises, and were any thing wanting to prove the utter futility of speculating on such a subject, it is the fact, that the great western branch, below Tatta, the Mehran of Rennell, which was described to be the main river, when I visited Tatta in January 1828, was scarcely knee-deep at the same season three years afterwards, and not in existence at all when Mr. Heddle was collecting materials for his report to Government, in the beginning of 1836.*

In a preceding paragraph, I have alluded to the moderate means possessed by the Ameers for repelling an invasion of their territory; and a single glance at the Indus will show the easy passage into the very heart of their dominions, which that river offers to a maritime power. The state-barge, which conveyed me to Sita, although flat-bottomed, was, in my opinion, capable of transporting really half a regiment; and during the voyage we met with others equally capacious.

* The modern appellation by the natives of the western branch is "Bagaur," which signifies "to destroy;" though such is the confusion of names in Sinde, that that designation was given to me as synonimous with "Sita," or "Sata," which indicates the eastern branch.

I am ignorant of naval tactics; but I have no doubt that armed steam-boats of small burden might act with peculiar efficacy; and although the shoals and currents in the stream might at first appear an impediment, war would scarcely be declared before the decks of our vessels were crowded with volunteers, well acquainted with the navigation, and ready to contribute their utmost efforts for the subversion of the present government. On the Sita I was again met by Hyder Khan Lagharee, by whom I was conducted through a productive country to Mugrbhee, and from thence, through the tract I have mentioned in the commencement of my narrative, to Luckput Bunder, which I reached on the 28th of January.

I had scarcely put my foot on the shore of Cutch, when a letter from the Resident, of date the 18th January, authorising me to remain in Sinde, pending a reference to Government, was delivered to me; together with a note from General Leighton, which that gentleman had kindly written me from Surat, to say that the proceedings of the court-martial had terminated, and that my evidence was unnecessary. I lost not an hour in apprizing the Ameers of this information, and again crossed into Sinde on my return to Hyderabad; but I had not proceeded more than thirty miles, when hearing of Meer Sobdar's rebellion, and of the distracted state of the country, I determined to await the answer to my letters. I remained several days at Pallia, a wretched halting-place in the Runn, amid rumours

of battles and murder, till the 13th, when I received a message, through the agent, from the Ameers, entreating me not to venture forward in the present state of affairs: and, accordingly, I deemed it prudent to fall back to Luckput, where I shortly after received the orders of the Honourable the Governor in Council to return to Bhooj.

On learning that Government had no wish to effect the establishment of a resident officer in Sinde, I thought it proper to give the native agent at Hyderabad to understand, that it was likely I should be employed in a particular duty, which would preclude the possibility of my fulfilling my promise of revisiting the Ameers. This was, no doubt, explained perfectly to their satisfaction, as their Highnesses have carried on a constant correspondence with me ever since I left them. Their letters are of the most friendly description, and evidently show a wish on their part to maintain a good understanding with me; nor should I conceal, that I believe it is even yet in my power to induce them again to invite me to their court, and to consent to my permanent residence in their capital.

In conclusion, I must lay claim to indulgence for the many imperfections which, I am sensible, may be discovered in this narrative; imperfections which I earnestly hope will rather be attributed to the difficulties I have encountered in drawing it up, than to any neglect or indifference on my part. I cannot but remark also, that like all persons who undertake to write personal narratives of their proceedings, I have too often been

obliged to speak of myself and conduct, in terms which a fastidious, or, probably, a very correct feeling, might condemn; but, in extenuation, I can only say, that I have been actuated by a sincere desire to represent things as they really are; nor can I accuse myself of having entered more fully into my transactions with the Ameers, than was absolutely necessary to exhibit their characters and manners in a proper light. That much has been suppressed which it might have been gratifying to record, may be seen, on reference to the letters which the native agent in Sinde addressed to the resident in Cutch, during my stay at Hyderabad, and which have fallen into my hands since my return to Bhooj.

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Postscript.—August 1839.—Since the completion of the foregoing narrative, an event worthy of record has occurred in Sinde, and fully realised the anticipations expressed in the preceding pages. Meer Kurm Ali Khan died of fever in December 1828, leaving Meer Mourad Ali Khan, now the only surviving of the four brothers who established the Talpoor dynasty, the sole and undisputed sovereign of the country, with a greater degree of power vested in his single person, than was ever previously shared by the family. The deceased chief is much lamented by his dependants, to whom he endeared himself by kindness and liberality; and his death will no doubt

cause a considerable revolution in the appearance of the court, the style and dignity of which were supported principally at his cost.

Among the stipulations by which Meer Sobdar's rebellion, in February 1828, was settled, there was a promise sacredly given on the Koran by Meer Kurm Ali Khan, that he would adopt that prince as his heir; but Sobdar Khan, whose weak character is known, sunk into his former insignificance soon after the reconciliation was concluded, and tamely permitted those who had taken the field in his cause to incur the vengeance and cruelty of the chief Ameers. It will not excite surprise, therefore, that on the demise of his uncle, he wanted spirit to claim the treasures to which he was entitled: accordingly, Meer Mourad Ali first contrived, under some pretence, that they should be left in deposit with his late brother's wives, and latterly he has appropriated them entirely to himself. The territorial possessions of Meer Kurm Ali Khan, with the exception of small estates granted to the young Ameers, have also devolved into the hands of the present ruler, under whose vigorous sway Sinde is likely, for some time at least, to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity.

# SKETCH

OF THE

# HISTORY OF CUTCH.

# PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following "Sketch of the History of Cutch since its connexion with the British Government" was compiled from public documents some years ago, as a supplement to a short history of that country by Captain Charles Walter, and in order to gratify the curiosity of a few friends, who expressed a strong desire to know something of the life and proceedings of the Ex-Rao, Bharmuljee, a state prisoner in Bhooj. Not having Captain Walter's papers to refer to, I have prefixed a short outline of the early history of Cutch, which consists simply of extracts from official reports by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Colonel Henry Pottinger, political resident at Bhooj, and captain James Holland, deputy quarter-master general of the Bombay Army. A brief account of Cutch and its Inhabitants has also been inserted as an Introductory Chapter, although the subject has been almost exhausted by the late Captain M'Murdo and others.

The following Letter, which has reference to the Historical Sketch of Cutch, may be inserted here :—

*Bombay Castle*, 22*d April* 1830.

(POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, No. 526.)

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 29th March, with

a copy of one from Dr. Burnes, and to request that you will convey to that officer the thanks of government for the valuable sketch of the recent History of Cutch which accompanied it.

You will also be pleased to express to Dr. Burnes the real satisfaction with which government observes public officers devôte their leisure to such objects of useful research, and to acquaint him that his clear and concise account of Cutch will be brought to the notice of the Honourable the Court of Directors.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. WILLIAMSON,
*Secretary to Government.*

# INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

ON

# CUTCH AND ITS INHABITANTS.

THE principality of Cutch, which forms the north-west frontier of the British Presidency of Bombay, extends between the sixty-eighth and seventy-second degrees of longitude east of Greenwich, and the twenty-second and twenty-fourth degrees of north latitude. Its extreme length does not exceed a hundred and sixty-five miles from east to west. Its breadth from north to south is fifty-two miles at the widest part, and only fifteen at the narrowest. It has the Gulf of Cutch and the Indian Ocean to the south; the great Northern Runn, which is flooded with salt water from May to October every year, on the north-east; and the Koree River, or Eastern Branch of the Indus, to the west.

The general appearance of Cutch is barren and uninteresting. Many of the villages are ruinous and dilapidated, bearing marks alike of the shocks of nature and the destructive powers of man. A few fields in their neighbourhood are cultivated, while the remainder of the country presents little

to the view but a rocky and sandy waste, which in many places is scarcely relieved by a show of vegetation. Water is scarce, and often brackish; and although the population is scanty, the produce of the land under cultivation is insufficient for its support; so that Cutch, even in the best seasons, is dependent on Sinde for supplies of grain.

The climate for nine months in the year is comparatively temperate and agreeable. The approach of October is dreaded equally by the native and European population as extremely unhealthy and oppressive. The temperature in the hot season often exceeds 100 degrees; and a residence in the cantonment of Bhooj, during the months of April or May, is rendered almost intolerable by hurricanes, which envelope the houses in dust and sand, and from which glass windows are scarcely a protection. The hot winds in these months also are so scorching, that their effects have been justly compared to the feeling produced by standing near an immense quantity of burning grass.

The monsoon is always moderate, and sometimes fails altogether. It would almost appear that those seasons in which it has failed, although the want of rain in a country almost entirely dependent for water on the firmament, must ever be attended with the greatest distress and misery to the native population, have been the most favourable for the maintenance of health in the European constitution.

This small territory is subdivided into districts,

amongst which may be enumerated Cutch proper, Wagur, and the Abbrassa, occupying respectively the central, western, and south-eastern, portions of the province. The capital is Bhooj, the seat of the Rao or prince, and the British Cantonment, a large walled town containing 20,000 souls; and the other chief cities are, Mandaree, the principal sea-port, which is a fortified place of great wealth and extent, possessing a population of 50,000 inhabitants, who are entirely engaged in carrying on a trade with the ports, not of Western India, but also with those of Sinde, Arabia, Persia, and the east coast of Africa: Anjar, containing 11,000 souls, twenty-four miles s. e. of Bhooj, and within eight miles of the Gulf of Cutch, where it has a bunder or sea port named Toona; Moondra, a considerable town on the coast between Toona and Mandaree, with a population of 6000; and Luckput Bunder on the eastern branch of the Indus, which has been already described in the former portion of this Volume. The site of the other inferior towns mentioned in the course of the following Sketch, will be found on a reference to the map, and it is only necessary to add, that they are or have been, with scarcely an exception, fortified places.

The number of inhabitants in Cutch is estimated at present at 350,000, of whom one-third are Mahommedans, and the remainder Hindoos of various castes. The population was formerly much greater, but many causes have lately operated to diminish it. The famine and pestilence which ravaged the northern parts of Guzerat,

Kattiwar, &c. in 1812, deprived Cutch of half its inhabitants. The oppressive nature of the government during the reigns of the Raos Lacca, Gore, and Rahiden, and the constant wars which were carried on by Futteh Mahommed, added much to the evil; while, latterly, a succession of unfavourable seasons has forced many of the Ryots to migrate into Sinde, or to seek for subsistence in other countries.

The natives of Cutch are stronger, stouter, and even handsomer, than those of Western India in general; and some of them, particularly the Rajpoots, bear marks of a superior and military caste. The women of the higher classes are generally considered good-looking. To a casual spectator, the whole population appears sunk in ignorance and apathy, but closer observation shows that this is not the case. The Ryots are found to be intelligent to a degree that is surprising; and the ingenuity of the workmen is justly celebrated. The palace at Mandavie, and the tomb of Rao Lacca at Bhooj, are beautiful specimens of their skill in architecture; while the gold and silver ornaments manufactured in Cutch, and so well known and highly prized by Europeans, display a taste and nicety of hand, unequalled by any Asiatic nation, except the Chinese. There is scarcely any piece of mechanism which, by proper explanation and superintendence, may not be imitated by the goldsmiths and carpenters at Bhooj; and I have known one of their gun-locks passed for an English one, and firmly believed to be so.

I do not believe that the natives of Cutch are

more immoral than those of Hindoostan in general; but if they are found so, it should be remembered that their necessities have been greater, and that they are but now recovering from the effects of an unjust, cruel, and, consequently, demoralizing government, which continued so late as the year 1819. They are, for the most part, peaceable, obedient, and well-affected to their rulers; while robberies and murders are seldom heard of, except by the Meeanahs, a class which will be hereafter particularly mentioned.

The use of opium and the hookah is almost universal in the country, and in these the Cutchee finds a solace for every distress of mind or of body. Whether at home or abroad, the hookah is his constant companion. He has recourse to it at every moment of leisure; and I have myself travelled with horsemen in the service of his Highness the Rao, who, although they kept their horses at a smart pace, contrived to smoke all the while. In every species of native society in Cutch, the influence of opium is apparent. The character of the people has even acquired a dull and phlegmatic cast from its effects, though it must be remarked, that these bear no proportion to the immense quantity of the drug that is used. With the exception of an unwillingness on the part of the opium-eaters to exert themselves, which probably arises partly from natural laziness, the use of this powerful narcotic does not appear to destroy the powers of the body, nor to enervate the mind to the degree that might be imagined. Visrajee, the Jharejah chief of Roha, whose name has been

famous in the history of Cutch for the last sixty years, has, during the whole of his life, indulged freely in opium, and has suffered so little from its debilitating effects, that he was last year detected in ambitious projects against the government, and banished to his own castle in consequence. He is now at the age of eighty, paralyzed by years, but his mind is unimpaired. This case is not a singular one; and, on investigation, I am convinced it will be found in general, that the natives do not suffer much from the use of opium. No doubt, however, East Indian opium is less deleterious in its effects than that which is produced in Turkey.

It is generally taken in small cups rubbed up with water, and the quantities that are swallowed would almost exceed belief. Its stimulating effects are sometimes very apparent. On one occasion, I had made a very fatiguing night march with a Cutchee horseman. In the morning, after having travelled about thirty miles, I was obliged to assent to his proposal of halting for a few minutes, which he employed in sharing a quantity of about two drachms of opium between himself and his jaded horse. The effect of the dose was soon evident on both; for the horse finished a journey of forty miles with great apparent facility, and the rider absolutely became more active and intelligent.

With the exception of the Jharejah Rajpoots, the Hindoos of Cutch do not differ from those of other parts of India. The Jharejahs are the aristocracy of the country, and are all more or

less connected with the family of the Rao. They trace their descent from Lacca Goraro, a prince who reigned in Sinde a thousand years ago, four of whose sons, Moor, Oner, Phool, and Munyabhaee, emigrated into Cutch, on account of some family dissensions. The two last had no issue. The posterity of Moor ended in the third generation at Lacca Phoolanee, whose name is still known and celebrated throughout this province. From Oner descended the present Jam of Nuwanuggur, and the Rajpoot Jharejahs of Cutch. Hoocrjee, one of his descendants four hundred years ago, had four sons, Khenjar, Rhayebjee, Sayebjee, and Aleyajee. From the first of these the Rao is lineally descended; and all the present Jharejahs, with a few exceptions, who claim still higher birth, derive their origin from the other three.*

There are about two hundred and fifty Jharejah chiefs in Cutch. All of them hold their lands in feu from the Rao, as their liege-lord, for services they or their ancestors have performed, or for relationship to his family. They are termed the Bhyaud, or brotherhood of the Rao, and are his hereditary advisers. On any male child being born in his Highness's family, a portion of the

* It was during the 8th century of the Hejira, or 14th of the Christian era that the Sinde Summas migrated *into* Kach (Cutch.) —120 years afterwards, or A. D. 1472, when Mahmood Begarra of Guzerat invaded Kach, the people are described as plunderers, and nominal Mohammedans, who told the king that they were Men of the Desert, who only knew there was a sky, earth, water, and fire."—MS. Observations by James Bird, Esq. F. G. S. 1838.

royal domains is allotted to him and his successors. The same principle is carried into effect in the families of the nobles, whose lands are subdivided for the benefit of their relations, who are called the Bhyaud of the chief. It is evident, that this system would soon reduce the whole property into an immense number of small portions; but the barbarity of their customs has afforded a check to this in the inhuman practice of infanticide. This, it is known, is not uncommon among the Rajpoots of India. The Jharejahs of Cutch trace the custom to Jarrah, one of the posterity of Oner, above-mentioned, from whom they derive their name, and who first showed the example, by putting to death seven of his daughters, some hundred years ago. His descendants, it is to be feared, have not confined their practice to females only.

The humanity of the British government since the period of its connexion with Cutch, has been much exerted in trying to check this horrid custom; but the prejudices which lead to it are so firmly rooted, and the interest of the Rajpoot families is so much identified in its continuance, that I have no doubt it is still secretly carried on in the private recesses of the Jharejah's forts, where it is impossible to watch them. Indeed, the returns furnished to the Bhooj durbar show such an immense disproportion between their male and female children, that the fact can scarcely be disputed. The infants, it is said, are usually put to death by opium applied to the breast of the mother, or are drowned in milk.

The Jharejahs intermarry with the families of other Rajpoots; but as they are all descended from a common ancestor, they consider it incestuous to unite themselves with the women of their own tribe; and to this unfortunate regulation of their caste may be attributed in a great degree their adherence to infanticide. Nuns and vestals meet with no respect in Indian society; indeed, it is a disgrace to a woman and her relations if she is not married and settled with her husband at an age which would be considered childhood in England. No respectable matches can be found in Cutch or the neighbouring countries for the Jharejah females; and the consequence unhappily is, that their preservation only leads to shame and prostitution.

This is an evil arising from a state of society which the hand of Omnipotence alone can suddenly improve; though it is to be hoped, that, by the continuance of our rule, and the gradual dissemination of enlightened opinions, it will eventually cease. No government can do more than ours has done to suppress infanticide; and the treaty of 1819 with Cutch, is a proof of the extraordinary sacrifices which have been made to gain this object. By a provision in that document, we engaged separately to protect the possessions of all the Jharejah chiefs, on their consenting to preserve their female children; thus entering into a treaty not only with the prince of the country, but also with two or three hundred of his nobles, and thereby cementing an alliance from which, however detrimental to our interests,

or ruinous to our finances, we can never be relieved. It is needless almost to add, that infanticide, when perpetrated, is practised so secretly as to defy all detection. As a proof of the pride and cruelty of the Cutch Rajpoots, I may here mention, that at the battle of Járrah in 1762, they massacred all their women and children, amounting to several thousands, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Sindians.*

The Jharejahs have a tradition that, when they first entered Cutch, they were Mahommedans, but that two hundred years afterwards, when the whole power of the country was in their hands, they resumed the name and customs of the Hindoos; and they have been considered Rajpoots ever since. In a religion which admits of no proselytes, this is astonishing; but the story seems well supported by circumstances. They still retain many Mahommedan customs; they take oaths equally on the Koran and Shastras; and they refer sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other on subjects of law and morality. They employ Musselman cooks, and eat from their hands, and, to crown all, his Highness the Rao, when he appears in public, alternately worships God in a Hindoo pagoda and a Mahommedan mosque. Rao Lacca erected a temple at Bhooj to the memory of a famous saint of Bagdad, the Peeran Peer, about the middle of last century, and his descendant, Rao Dessul, in person, lays his oblations at the shrine generally every Fri-

* The subject of infanticide has been fully illustrated by Sir Alexander Burnes in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1834.

day, which is the Mahommedan day of prayer. The Bhooj durbar fits out a ship annually at Mandavie to convey pilgrims to Mecca, who are fed and supported during the voyage by the liberality of the Rao; and, although this is without doubt a remnant of the Mogul sway, and was, I believe, the tenure by which the sovereigns of Cutch held their dominions from the Delhi emperors; the fact of its being still maintained is a proof, with the others, of the anomalous opinions which the Jharejahs entertain on the subject of religion. The royal family of Cutch have never objected to form matrimonial alliances with Mahommedans when the match was suitable, or when a political object was to be gained. Rao Gore gave one of his female relations in marriage to Meean Surufraz Khan, a prince of the house of Calora in Sinde; and more lately Kesser Bhye, the sister of Rao Bharmuljee, was united to the Nawaub of Joonaghur.

The Mahommedans of Cutch are of the same degenerate caste as is to be found throughout the western side of India. The only class particularly worthy of notice, as being peculiar in habits and customs, is the Meeanahs, who have of late attracted attention by their plunders and depredations. The Meeanahs claim the same descent as the Jharejahs, and boast, that, while the latter became apostates to the Mahommedan creed, they remained steady in the faith. Be this as it may, they have lost all the honour and respectability of the Rajpoots, and have been, from time immemorial, a body of outcasts and marauders,

ready on all occasions to take advantage of the troubles of the state to commit their outrages.

It may excite surprise that during so many centuries these plunderers should have been permitted to remain as a scourge to Cutch; but the question is solved when we find, that, though always injurious to the people, they were frequently useful to the government, under whose standard, at the season of exaction and oppression, they generally ranged themselves, and from which, even they have at various times received grants of land. As an instance of their services, it may be mentioned, that the immense army of the Nawaub of Ahmedabad, which invaded Cutch in 1718, was forced to evacuate it, chiefly from all its supplies being cut off by the Meeanahs.

The vigour of Futteh Mahommed's government required less assistance from outlaws, and as their depredations had arisen to a height formerly unknown, at the confused period at which his power commenced, one of his first measures was to endeavour to extirpate them from Cutch. In this he nearly succeeded; but of late years, several of them returned, and lived in villages among the hills, peculiar to themselves, where they obtained a scanty subsistence by cultivating the fields. The unfortunate seasons of 1823 and 1824 forced many of them to emigrate into Sinde, where, uniting with other adventurers, they formed themselves into bands, and made forays into Cutch, several of the villages of which they burned and plundered.

The reappearance of plenty in 1825 has brought

back many of them to their fields, which the lenity of government now allows them to retain unmolested; while the others have either fixed their residence in Sinde, awaiting a favourable opportunity to renew their incursions, or have paid the penalty of their offences against the durbar. The bold and determined manner in which most of the latter have met their fate at the place of execution is worthy almost of antiquity, and certainly of a better cause. One of their chiefs, named Oomriah, was captured by a detachment of our troops in a skirmish in April last, and was shortly after blown from the mouth of a cannon, according to the usual custom of capital punishment in Cutch. Though emaciated with confinement and the pain of his wounds, he stepped forward to meet death in this appalling shape, with his spirit undaunted; and after seeing some of his companions blown to atoms, resolutely walked up to the instrument of his destruction, to which he declined to be tied, and placing his body to the muzzle, demanded permission to be his own executioner. The remnant of these "Children of the Mist" still retain all the predatory customs and habits of their forefathers, their daring courage and their adroitness rendering them a constant object of dread to the peaceful villager; while the confidence of the inhabitants of Cutch is only maintained by posts of British troops stationed at various places along the frontier.

Postscript.—The above account was written in 1826, when Cutch was suffering from the depredations of these plunderers. Since then, a succession of good seasons, and a steady and improved system of administration, have altered the aspect of affairs, and the Meeanahs are now seldom heard of. In 1827, the Bhooj durbar published a general pardon for all their past offences; a measure as politic as it was merciful, and which was attended by the happy effect of bringing back nearly all those who had remained in Sinde, while lately the arrangements entered into between our government and the Ameers, have left the territories of Cutch no longer a place of refuge for discontented traitors.

# SKETCH

OF THE

# HISTORY OF CUTCH.

## SECTION I.

### OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF CUTCH BEFORE THE BRITISH CONNEXION.

About the ninth century of the Christian era, a body of supposed Moosulmans* of the Summa tribe emigrated from Sinde, and, under the guidance of five brothers, settled in Cutch, of which

* "Extraordinary as the fact may appear, it is stated in the Cutch annals, that these Summas were originally Mahommedans. Much doubt hangs over the early history of the Jharejahs, but they are generally understood to be a branch of the Jadoo Rajpoots, (children of the moon) descendants of Chrishud, who settled finally in the desert on the shore of Indus, under the appellation of Bhuttees and Sumaichas. The Bhuttees are well known as the Rajpoots of Jessulmeer, and there can be little reasonable doubt, but that the Sumaicha branch having from compulsion mixed much with Mahommedans, and consequently lost caste, have, to cover their disgrace, invented the improbable story of their having been originally Mahommedans. The Mahommedan Summas of Sinde are doubtless converts from the old Rajpoot stock."—MS. Notes by Captain James Holland, Deputy Quarter-Master General, 1838.

by degrees they acquired the complete sovereignty; having either by force or fraud expelled, or subjected to their authority, the aboriginal inhabitants, consisting of three distinct classes, Wagellas, Katties, and Wagum Chowras. Four or five generations after their settlement, the descendants of the five brothers assumed the name of Jharejah, derived from a leader of the tribe named Jharrah, who set his descendants the example of female infanticide, by putting to death his seven daughters in one day.

Cutch continued tranquil under their sway for many years, until the murder of Humeerjee, the chief of the elder branch of the tribe, by another Jharejah, named Jam Rawul. Khengarjee, the son of Humeerjee, on the death of his father, fled to Ahmedabad to seek the assistance of the viceroy, who had married his sister; and this being readily granted, a force was sent into Cutch to reinstate him, as chief of the tribe, in his rights, which had been usurped by the murderer of his father. On the approach of the viceroy's army, Jam Rawul fled with his adherents to Kattiwar, and founded the town of Nuwanuggur, which is possessed by his descendants at the present day; and Khengarjee assumed the sovereignty of Cutch and Moorvee in Kattiwar, with the title of Rao or Rawul, A. D. 1549.

From the time of Khengarjee until that of Rahiden, A. D. 1666, the succession continued according to the law of primogeniture. Pragjee, the third son of the latter prince, murdered his elder brother, Jewajee, and the second brother,

Nongaljee, having died in the interim, Pragjee, on the death of his father in 1698, ascended the musnud, to the prejudice of his nephews, Kianjee, the son of Jewajee, and Kallajee, the son of Nongaljee. To the former he gave the command of Moorvee in Kattiwar, which his descendants still retain; the latter retired into the Abrassa, and took possession of the principal towns in that district, where his descendants have ever since possessed the chief influence. Pragjee was succeeded, in the year 1716, by his son, Goregee, a brave and enterprizing prince, who had distinguished himself by his courage and conduct during the lifetime of his father, but whose reign is not marked by any occurrence of note: he was succeeded by his son, Rao Daisul.

Rao Daisul ascended the throne, A. D. 1719. At no period was Cutch so respectable as during his rule. He not only repelled four armies despatched from Ahmedabad by the emperor's deputy, to enforce the payment of tribute, but sent his troops across the frontier, and established military posts in Sinde, Parkhur, and Okhamundel, by which steps he checked the predatory horse from the two former quarters, and piracy at the latter. He also took possession of various towns and villages along the southern coast of the Gulf of Cutch, to which he laid claim on account of his relationship to the Rajah of Moorvee; and, notwithstanding all these expensive exertions, exclusive of many improvements he carried on in his own territories, he died at an advanced age, leaving a treasury well stocked

with money. The latter ten years of his life were embittered by the unkindness of his son, the Prince Lacca, who threw him into confinement, and also had his celebrated minister, Sett Deokurn, assassinated.

Lacca assumed the supreme authority about the year 1745. The character and forms of the durbar were entirely changed by the luxurious and extravagant splendour that were introduced during his reign, which lasted about ten years after the decease of his father. The advanced posts placed by Rao Daisul in Parkhur and Sinde were driven out; and his son, afterwards Rao Gore, rose in open rebellion against him. Either two or three ministers were put to death during this reign. Poonjah Sett, the son of the celebrated Deokurn Sett, minister of Rao Daisul, was disgraced and dismissed; and the Prince Gore retired to, and resided at, Moondra for the last seven years of his father's life. Forces were frequently sent against him, but were invariably unsuccessful; and although none of the neighbouring powers attempted to invade Cutch in Rao Lacca's time, and his whole strength was therefore disposable, yet it was in vain exerted to subdue the rebellion, headed by his own son, in the very heart of his dominions. He also made an abortive attack on the town and fort of Terah in the Abbrassa, the patrimony of Soomrajee Jharejah, in which he was beaten off, and obliged to return to his capital discomfited.

On the death of Rao Lacca, his only legitimate son, in 1760, Gore, was unanimously acknow-

ledged, although his father had tried to secure the accession for one of his numerous illegitimate children. Poonjah Sett, as soon as he heard of Rao Lacca's death, hastened to Bhooj, in the expectation of being made minister; but he was treated with undisguised contempt and hostility; and hearing that a plot had been formed to assassinate him, he fled to Sinde, and the situation he had aspired to was filled by a distant relative of his own called Jeewun Sett. Cutch was invaded no less than four times by the Sindians during this reign; and on each of these occasions, the country was desolated and plundered, although the invaders did not succeed in forming a permanent settlement. Two of the inroads were headed by Gholam Shah Calora in person, and two of them by his son Meean Surufraz Khan. The former wished to compel the Rao to give him his sister in marriage; but after a treaty had been entered into, in which this stipulation stood as an article, it was evaded, and Gholam Shah was glad, on his second invasion, to content himself with the daughter of the chief of Khauker, whose family stood next in pretensions to the throne.

The inability of Cutch to withstand the power of Sinde was clearly demonstrated by these events; for although the Rao engaged mercenaries from the Nuwab of Rahidenpoor, the Jam of Nuwanuggur, the chief of Moorvee, and others, yet even with all this foreign aid, had it not been for Poonjah Sett, (who first instigated Gholam Shah to the attack, but afterwards repented, and per-

suaded him to return to Hyderabad,) it seems from all accounts probable that the Cutch government would then have been subverted. When the Sindians retired, Poonjah Sett was made minister; but soon after the Rao presented him with his own hand with a bowl of poison, and ordered him to drink it in his presence, merely because he had recommended an adherence to the articles of the treaty. His son Deojée Sett accepted the office of minister about three years subsequent to this, and likewise met an untimely fate by poison.

On quitting Cutch, Gholam Shah left a garrison of 5000 men at Luckput Bunder, which was then a petty town. He also proceeded to build an embankment to prevent the waters of the Indus from falling into the sea through the eastern branch of that river, which passes close to Luckput; and by this unjustifiable act he converted a fertile plain, which yielded from rice cultivation a revenue of eight lacs of cories annually to the Bhooj durbar, into a dreary salt marsh. When Gholam Shah died, his son Surufraz Khan recalled his troops from Luckput, but, as before stated, he twice after this entered Cutch with a considerable force, and devastated a great part of the country before he quitted it.

The garrisons on the part of Cutch in Ballumba, and other places, on the northern coast of Kattiwar, were expelled by the dependants of the Jam about this time; and, instead of resenting these injuries, or at least attempting it, the Rao gave up his whole time and thoughts to the most

unheard of cruelty and sensuality. He kept a body of negroes about his person, who allowed no one but the partakers of his disgusting and depraved orgies to approach him. At length the ladies of the durbar prevailed on some of the principal officers to confine the Rao; and whilst he was under this temporary restraint, the whole of the negroes were either put to death, or fled to the adjacent countries. The Rao was so much irritated, that, on being released, he proceeded to Mandavie in disgust, and there occupied himself in building a fine palace, which, however, he never completely finished.

After stating these facts, it is almost superfluous to say, that Rao Gore was a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. Exclusively of the revolting instances already detailed, he killed with his own hand his brother Mansingjee, simply because he discovered that he had obtained the favours of a female who had declined his visits; and it is estimated, that in the course of his reign, a period of nineteen years, he sacrificed more than thirty ministers to his rage or rapacity. He left two sons, the prince Rahiden, and Pruthiraj, commonly called Bhyjee Bawa, the former of whom succeeded him.

Rao Rahiden began to reign in 1778, at the early age of fourteen. His mother had appointed a Lohana, by name Dewichund, minister; and it was supposed, from the intercourse they afterwards carried on, that her connexion with him had been criminal, even during Rao Gore's lifetime. The young prince had been accustomed

from his infancy to hear of and see scenes of bloodshed and vice; and he quickly afforded proof that he was a most apt scholar in such matters, and needed not the dying exhortations of his father to revenge his mother's infidelity on the tribe (Lohana), to which her paramour belonged. He very soon replaced the negroes who had been turned out or destroyed some years before; and with their assistance he put to death in one day the minister Dewichund, together with his three brothers, and above two hundred of their followers.

A Banian minister was next set up under the auspices of a negro jemidar, named Mecraj; but these ill-assorted authorities soon quarrelled. Parties arranged themselves on each side; and whilst the Rao was indulged in the inner apartments with a few companions in deeds of abandoned lust and profligacy, the palace was daily deluged with the blood of those who were contending for his favour. Some of the most desperate of the negroes were banished, and others put out of the way by poison, which, it is even asserted, the Rao himself mixed with their food, to rid himself of their continual importunities; but those who remained of this class had influence enough to obtain the Rao's order to destroy the Banian, which was done without delay in the public durbar.

On hearing of these proceedings, many of the district officers affected to consider themselves freed from all allegiance to Bhooj. Mandavie, however, and some other important places, con-

tinued obedient to the Rao; who, having recently adopted the Mussulman religion, resolved to force his subjects to follow his example, which he determined to do by destroying all the Hindoo temples and images. This mad project he first tried at Mandavie, whether he had gone for the express purpose; but the Brahmins and Banians, who form a large portion of the population, opposed him, and threatened, according to their mode of enforcing their wishes, to commit "traga"* on themselves. The Rao, to let them clearly comprehend how careless he was of such denunciations, drew his sword and wounded five or six of them, before his attendants could seize his hand. He then gave directions that the town should be pillaged; an outrage which was happily prevented, by the rich merchants bribing the garrison to oppose the miscreants who had gladly hastened to carry the Rao's orders into execution. In the meantime, the Rao was himself in great danger from the exasperated feelings of the inhabitants, who attacked him and his escort, and obliged them to make a rapid retreat to Bhooj; where, as a compensation for the disappointment he had met with, and the opposition offered to him at Mandavie, he adopted the plan of moving about the streets habited as a fukeer, and accompanied by a body of his negroes, who put every man whom they met to death, unless he was able and willing to repeat the Mahommedan creed.

It now became notorious that the Rao was de-

* "Traga" consists in sacrificing one of their number, that his blood may rest on the head of their oppressor.

ranged; and after two or three attempts to place him under restraint, in which measure his brother Bhyjee Bawa and the ladies of the palace concurred, he was seized by a body of troops which had been secretly called in from Anjar. In one of the various unsuccessful attempts made to secure his person, which he constantly baffled through the vigilance and ferocity of his negroes, the then minister Kotaree Waga, and above three hundred people, were destroyed in cold blood in one of the palace yards, by the Rao and his desperate associates. From this time the Rao was lodged in confinement; but his brother Bhyjee Bawa being too young to assume the direction of affairs, the government was conducted by twelve commanders of mercenary troops, who appear to have been all Mahommedans, and who were guided by the authority of Dhosul Vain, the principal member of their body.

Among these leaders was Futteh Mahommed, a native of Sinde. This person appears to have been endowed with capacity and courage. Finding the government of Dhosul Vain at once weak and odious, he successfully intrigued with the troops, with the ministers by whom the civil business of the government was still conducted, and with some of the Jharejahs; until, in the year 1792, he was enabled to expel Dhosul Vain and his colleagues, and to transfer the reins of government into his own hands. He conducted the affairs of Cutch with firmness and ability for ten years, until Bhyjee Bawa, in whose name he administered the government, became of age, and

began to feel the hardship of his exclusion from the regency. Hunsraj and the other ministers who were dissatisfied with the predominance of Futteh Mahommed, availed themselves of this feeling; and seizing the opportunity of his casual absence from the capital, they carried off Bhyjee to Mandavie, of which Hunsraj was at that time in charge. The wealth and respectable character of Hunsraj, the junction of the other ministers, and the popular manners of Bhyjee, joined to the goodness of his cause, soon drew the majority to his party; while Futteh Mahommed was glad to abandon Bhooj, and to compromise his claim to the administration for the possession of the fort and dependencies of Anjar.

The death of Bhyjee, which happened in 1802, six months after the revolution, restored the ascendancy of Futteh Mahommed. Hunsraj was a merchant, and his wealth and popularity were insufficient to make up for the want of knowledge and confidence in military affairs. He withdrew to Mandavie, leaving Bhooj to be captured by Futteh Mahommed, while Luckput Bunder, Moondra, Bitta, and Seesagud, with their districts, remained in the hands of independent chiefs,* who, although three of them professed Mahommedanism, were all close confederates of Hunsraj. These parties were supported entirely by their mercenary troops, consisting of Arabs, Sindees, and Mussulmans of Cutch. The Jharejahs appear to have possessed but little weight, and to

* Mahommed Meyan Sotah, who enacted so prominent a part afterwards, was one of these, and also Malik Mahommed.

have taken little interest in the struggle; some remained at their forts entirely neutral, others served the contending parties for pay; and although the Rao's person was in the hands of Futteh Mahommed, and Hunsraj had not even the shadow of legitimate authority, the greater part of the Bhyaud were entertained in his service, or attached to his party. Futteh Mahommed proceeded with vigour against such of these as came within his reach; he fomented their family quarrels; he besieged their forts; he levied contributions on various pretences, as well to fill his treasury as to gratify his revenge. His necessities obliged him also to impose numerous and severe taxes and fines on the merchants and ryots; but although these proceedings naturally created general discontent, there seems to have been no attempt to form any combination against him. He continued to govern the capital and the greater part of the Rao's territories, and to carry on depredations on the possessions of his rivals until his death; and the name of the "Jemidar" is now as much respected in Cutch as that of any of the Raos, his predecessors in authority. The death of Futteh Mahommed took place in 1813;—it was preceded by that of Hunsraj, and shortly followed by that of Rao Rahiden.

## SECTION II.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BRITISH CONNEXION, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF 1816.

We have now arrived at a stage in the History of Cutch when its connexion with the British Government forms the chief part of the detail; and it is here necessary, before proceeding to relate the consequences of the death of Futteh Mahommed, to revert a little, in order to trace the various negotiations which took place. At one of the periods, 1801–2, when Hunsraj, the governor of Mandavie, had gained a temporary ascendancy, he entreated the assistance of the Bombay Government, in the name of Rao Rahiden, for the purpose of allaying the dissensions between himself and Futteh Mahommed, which destroyed the peace of the country; and, to obtain this mediation, he offered to cede Cutch to the Honourable Company, provided the capital was reserved for the residence of the Rao, and arrangements were made for the future support of his Highness. During the next two years, another

proposal was received at Bombay to subsidize a body of British troops for the protection of Cutch, which was followed also by a third a short time after (1804), in which both Hunsraj and Futteh Mahommed concurred.

But it was not the policy nor wish of the British government to form any closer alliance with the state of Cutch than what would merely gain for its own subjects, and those of its allies, protection against the unruly dependents of the Rao: and, accordingly, the only agreements entered into with the chieftains above-named, in 1809, were a provision for the suppression of piracy, which had been carried on to a great extent from all the northern ports; and another for the security of Kattiwar and Guzerat, by a stipulation that none of his Highness's troops should cross to the eastward of the Runn or Gulf of Cutch. In return for these engagements, the British government undertook to adjust the settlement of some pecuniary claims made by the Bhooj durbar on the Jam or Prince of Nuwanuggur, but declined to interfere further in the affairs of Cutch than merely to warn the government of Sinde against any attempt at the conquest of that country which the Ameers had shown a disposition to effect.

These arrangements, unfortunately, did not accomplish the object of the English government. The shores of Cutch continued to swarm with pirates, who committed their depredations in the most audacious manner, and to the interruption of all commerce. Sewiraj, the son of Hunsraj,

who had succeeded his father in the command of Mandavie, encouraged these outrages by conniving at the escape of the most daring offenders; and further added to the evil, by imposing a tax on all vessels, not even excepting those furnished with British passes, which entered the Gulf of Cutch. Several of the Company's cruizers were employed in checking these piracies; but they, nevertheless, increased to such an extent, that the Bombay government at length resolved to send an agent to remonstrate with the Mandavie authorities, as well as to obtain payment of a sum of money due to the Honourable Company, and his Highness the Guicawar, by Sewiraj Hunsraj.

The person selected for this purpose was Captain James M'Murdo, a gentleman whose talents and accomplishments fully qualified him for the difficult task. A considerable marine force was placed at his disposal, and he was instructed to collect information respecting the haunts and strength of the pirates;—a duty which he accomplished often at great personal risk, and in a manner highly satisfactory to government. This officer had been but a few days at Mandavie when his penetration enabled him to discover that the pirates not only received protection at that place, but were even permitted to remain unpunished under the immediate eye of Futteh Mahommed. A ship freighted with property to a considerable amount, belonging to Shah Darab, a prince of Cabul, was plundered in the Gulf of Cutch, by a miscreant named Nackwa Hussun, who carried

his ill-gotten wealth to Bhooj, where he was allowed to squander it openly in every kind of dissipation.

With Sewiraj Hunsraj, who satisfied all demands, Captain M'Murdo was able to come to an amicable agreement; but matters had scarcely been settled at Mandavie, when his attention was strongly attracted to Futteh Mahommed, who had now also begun to show his disregard of the stipulation of 1809. Bodies of banditti from the province of Wagur were daily permitted to cross into Kattiwar, which they ravaged and laid waste. A Sindee assassin of a British officer, (Captain Phelan,) who had escaped from Nuwanuggur, was employed in the Bhooj durbar; the notorious pirate, Nackwa Hussun, with many others of the same description, were publicly encouraged to reside in that capital; and, as if all these violations of a sacred compact were insufficient, Futteh Mahommed himself proceeded to lead a force across the Runn into Parkur, and established a garrison at Santilpoor, a village on the Gazerat frontier, with the avowed purpose of extending his authority in that quarter.

These various infringements of the treaty were not allowed to pass without a spirited remonstrance upon the part of Captain M'Murdo, who, having concluded his arrangements at Mandavie, had retired to Moorvee in Kattiwar, whence he reminded the Jemidar of his engagements, and urged him to maintain them. He called on him to make restitution of the property of Shah Darab, who had solicited the intercession of the Bombay

government, and insisted on the immediate surrender of the Sindee murderer, and the pirate, as the only means of removing a most degrading suspicion from Futteh Mahommed himself. Through this representation the garrison at Santilpore was withdrawn, and negociations were in progress for the punishment of the Wagur plunderers, &c. when Futteh Mahommed died. Having thus supplied the broken link, we now proceed to follow the regular chain of the narration.

On the death of Futteh Mahommed, the government of Cutch devolved quietly on his two eldest sons, Hussain and Ibrahim Meyans. Nothing could be more dissimilar than the characters of these young men. Ibrahim Meyan possessed talent, courage, and energy, with the two last of these qualities in excess; although the younger of the two, he had already taken an active part in the affairs of the state; and he had been entrusted with the command of the important fortress of Kunkote in Wagur, while his brother, who was understood to be of a weak, slow, and vacillating disposition, had been retained at Bhooj under his father's own eye and direction. For some years before his death, Futteh Mahommed had been chiefly guided by the counsels of Jugjeewan Mehtah, a Nagur Brahmin, of fair reputation, in whose integrity he reposed implicit confidence, and to whose advice it was his earnest and dying request that his sons would pay respect and obedience. The influence, however, of this individual had given great dissatisfaction to many of those who were connec-

ted by the ties of blood with the Jemidar, and had not only been the cause of much jealousy to his sons, but had proved particularly irksome to their mother, Jumalbhye, a woman of an intriguing disposition, much under the guidance of Mahommed Meyan Sotah, the soi-disant lord of Moondra, one of the most turbulent characters of the period, to whom she was nearly related. The angry feelings of these members of his family on this account had required all Futteh Mahommed's decision to restrain them, and they now broke forth with redoubled violence on his death. On hearing of that event, Ibraham Meyan instantly returned from Kunkote, and, under the pretence of assembling his friends to assist at the ceremonies of his father's funeral, he invited Mahommed Meyan Sotah, Malik Mahommed, Dossul Vain, and other Mahommedan officers, to Bhooj, where a party was immediately formed against Jugjeewan Mehtah, and a plan entered into for putting him to death.

Hussain Meyan, Futteh Mahommed's eldest son, does not appear to have been entrusted to the full extent with the designs of these conspirators; either from an idea that he was partial to the intended victim, or that his timid and irresolute character rendered him unfit, in their estimation, for any measure which required secrecy and decision. The plot, however, was discovered by the vigilance of an Arab Jemidar, named Ahya, who had obtained employment in the service of the durbar, through the patronage of Jugjeewan, and who, on hearing of his danger, came boldly

forward, together with his countrymen, and declared their united intention of defending the Mehtah's life and property against all attack.

Matters had reached this crisis, when Rao Rahiden died; and an event occurred, which, from its adding religion to the other causes of dissension, was calculated to inflame the rage of the parties to the uttermost. That unhappy prince, who had long been confined on account of insanity, among his other wild eccentricities, had always affected a fiery zeal for the Mahommedan faith, and had even attempted, when not under personal restraint, to spread it by the sword throughout his dominions. Latterly, his ravings had been entirely on the subject of religion; he had adopted all the austerities of the most devoted enthusiast, and had left directions that his body should be interred in a small mosque, which he had erected for this particular purpose within the precincts of the palace. A request of this nature was too much in accordance with the religious prejudices of Ibrahim Meyan and his Mussulman associates to be received with indifference. They lost not a moment in preparing to give effect to it in the most open and solemn manner; and they had made every arrangement for the funeral, according to the forms prescribed by their creed, when Jugjeewan Mehtah, accompanied by four or five hundred Rajpoots, forcibly seized the corpse, and burned it with great display and ceremony, agreeably to the customs of the Hindoos.

This proceeding had been adopted chiefly at the instigation of the ladies of the palace, who

viewed the proposed interment in the light of a profanation. Ibrahim Meyan and his party were either too much taken by surprise, or had really not power sufficient to prevent its completion, and the ashes of Rao Rahiden were deposited with those of his ancestors; but it is almost needless to add, that Jugjeewan Mehta's conduct was esteemed by the Mahommedans as an act of atrocious sacrilege; and while it thus exasperated his enemies to the utmost, and unfortunately excited against him the general feelings of a powerful and military class of the community, it had also the more fatal effect, as will afterwards appear, of diminishing his popularity with the Arabs, his recent defenders. In this state of affairs, intrigues immediately commenced regarding the succession to the throne, and were carried on with the virulence of party spirit for several weeks. Jugjeewan Mehtah and the principal Jharejah chiefs declared in favour of Ladoba, the lawful son of Bhyjee Bawa, and nephew of the late Rao Rahiden; while the opposite faction resolved to elevate Maun Sing, the son of that prince, by a slave girl.

Both these competitors were young, and ignorant of state affairs. Either of the two would have answered the general purposes of the Mahommedan party, who merely wished to place a puppet on the throne, that they might advance their own lawless designs, under the cover of his name and authority; and Ladoba, from being the younger and more legitimate, would in all probability have been preferred, had not the private feelings of

Ibrahim Meyan interfered, and fixed the election on his rival. To explain this circumstance, we must enter briefly into the history of Ibrahim Meyan. About two years before the period at which we have arrived, that young man had formed an attachment for Kesser Bye, the sister of Maun Sing, who, either from affection or ambitious motives, returned his regard, while her brother encouraged his stolen visits at the palace. The intercourse between the lovers was exposed, by a Marwarry Jemidar, named Malum Sing, to Futteh Mahommed, whose conduct on this occasion evinced the superiority of his character. A connexion with the family of the Rao, now easily within his reach, would have added much to his personal respectability, and might have been a sure means of continuing his power to his descendants; but he disdained to purchase such an advantage at the expence of his duty and his reputation, and not only peremptorily forbade his son's further visits at the durbar, but forced him to leave the capital and remain in Wagur. On his return to Bhooj after his father's death, Ibrahim Meyan renewed his intimacy with Kesser Bye, at whose entreaties he engaged to support her brother's pretensions, to the exclusion of the lawful heir. Mahommed Meyan Sotah received a bribe of 50,000 cories; and, by their united influence, Maun Sing was raised to the throne by the name of Rao Bharra, or Bharmuljee.

No opposition appears to have been made to this election by the Jharejahs, many of whom remained in their own possessions, indifferent to

the passing events, while the others were either bribed to compliance, or afraid to object. Rao Bharmuljee was eighteen years of age when he ascended the throne. His previous life had been passed in the gloomy monotony of the palace, and his elevation made but little change in his situation. Except on occasions when he was required to appear in public as a pageant, he and his cousin Ladoba were alike kept in strict confinement, where they are said to have lived together in terms of the closest intimacy, and even to have engaged in plans for the subversion of the influence of the Moondra chieftain, who, in the name of Hussain Meyan, soon possessed himself of all the authority, and contrived to fill Bhooj with his mercenary troops. All that two young princes so situated were able to attempt, was not likely to be effectual; but the haughty and overbearing conduct of Mahommed Meyan Sotah at length had the effect of rousing the slumbering energies of Hussain Meyan himself, who, disgusted at the little consideration which had been shown him, privately abandoned the Mussulman party, and made overtures to that headed by Jugjeewan Mehtah.

Meanwhile the British government had, subsequently to the death of Futteh Mahommed, renewed its application to Hussain Meyan, who, after some negociations, requested an agent should be sent to Bhooj. The person selected for this employment was Ragoba Appa, a man of competent talent and experience, with whom I have often conversed, and who was directed to adopt

the most conciliatory demeanour in his intercourse with the Cutch Government. On his arrival at Bhooj, he found the parties in the state just detailed, and by his interposition confirmed the renewed friendship between the Methah and Hussain Meyan, both of whom he found favourable to the object of his mission. The consequence of Ragoba Appa's proceedings was an invitation to Captain M'Murdo, who was still at Moorvee, to visit Bhooj, and a remonstrance to Hussain Meyan on the part of Jugjeewan Mehtah, who, as yet supported by the Arabs, and now inspired with confidence by the presence of the British agent, declared his determination not to serve the Durbar in any capacity till Mahommed Meyan Sotah was dismissed. Hussain Meyan summoned up resolution to comply with the Mehtah's request; but Mahommed Meyan Sotah showed no readiness to quit Bhooj, and even attempted, by threats and entreaties, to obtain an order forbidding the approach of Captain M'Murdo. Finding, however, his efforts unsuccessful, he retired to Moondra, in the greatest indignation and disgust. Ibrahim Meyan, though equally hostile to the measures which had been adopted by his brother and Jugjeewan Mehtah, continued to linger at the capital, watching the issue of events, and sunk in a vortex of profligacy and intrigue.

Captain M'Murdo was received by the authorities at Bhooj with respect, and found Jugjeewan Mehtah and Hussain Meyan apparently inclined to be on the most amicable terms with the British Government. On the subject of Santilpore, which

became a matter of discussion, they excused themselves, by declaring that they considered the Cutch Durbar had a right to send troops to that place; the spirit of the treaty of 1809 being, as they understood it, to prevent incursions into the territories of the Honourable Company and its allies, among whom they did not include the Nawaub of Rahidenpoore, to whom Santilpore belonged. They acknowledged that Futteh Mahommed had invited the infamous Nackwa Hussun to Bhooj after his plundering Prince Darab's property, but denied the value of the effects seized; there being, as they asserted, nothing more than a few Persian ornaments, which they professed their willingness to restore. The pirate himself, they admitted, was in the service of Mahommed Meyan Sotah, from whom they agreed to demand him, and to deliver him up to the British Government for punishment. They were further ready to give up the Sindee assassin, provided he could be discovered in Cutch; and they also confessed the justice of our demands against Wagur, to chastise the plunderers of which province they offered to send a force, and invited Captain M'Murdo to accompany it. Hussain Meyan freely acknowledged the imbecility of his administration, and expressed his readiness to accept the mediation of the British Government, whose good offices, he said, he had before intended to solicit in assisting to settle the disturbed state of Cutch, and to enable him to place the resources of the country in the hands of legitimate authority.

In conformity with these proposals, which,

though evasive in many respects,, showed some proof of a desire to obtain the favour of the English Government, the Durbar applied to the Moondra chief for the surrender of the pirate Hussun, and Hussain Meyan marched 12th April, with 3000 men into Wagur, whither he was accompanied by Captain M'Murdo. Mahommed Meyan Sotah's laconic and cavalier reply to the application just alluded to, will demonstrate the temper of that chief, as well as his regard for truth—the pirate having been actually seen in his employment at the very time his letter was written—and his respect for the Government of Cutch. It was in these terms: "You mention the English M'Murdo is arrived, let me know what he communicates. The Nackwa Hussun is at Curachee." On the advance of the above force into Wagur, many of the chieftains repaired to Hussain Meyan's camp, and submitted to his authority. He established garrisons at Palanswa, Rhapoor, &c. and the province ostensibly returned to a state of order; but, as his means were too limited to secure an effectual and permanent tranquillity, he shortly after returned to Bhooj, and Captain M'Murdo proceeded to Kattiwar, perfectly satisfied of the inability of the reigning powers in Cutch to restrain their troublesome dependents.

During this interval, Ibrahim Meyan, although he had accompanied the Wagur expedition, had continued a member of the Moondra party, and had never ceased to upbraid and condemn his brother for his adherence, to what he termed, the British interests. On the return of the latter to

the capital, Ibrahim established himself at Kunkote, and encouraged the Belah, and other plunderers of Wagur, by every means in his power; finally, he declared open war against his brother and the Bhooj authorities, and, together with Ascaran Sa, a troublesome and turbulent character, with whom he had allied himself and Mahommed Meyan Sotah, committed extensive depredations in the district of Anjar, and forcibly took possession of the town and fort of Futteh Ghud. While the eastern side of Cutch was thus a prey to rapine and disorder, Mandavie was also the scene of contention and bloodshed. Dhosul Vain and Malik Mahommed, at the instigation of the Moondra chieftain, made an attempt to wrest it from Sewiraj Hunsraj, their employer, but were detected and defeated. Civil war raged with all its fury; nor had the durbar any means to check or suspend its horrors. Three or four distinct factions divided the country, all of whom joined only in one object, the plunder of the labouring and peaceable classes, who were reduced to beggary and starvation by their manifold extortions. The Wagur banditti, seizing the opportunity, extended their ravages both at home and abroad. Sixty villages belonging to the Guicowar and Peishwa in Kattiwar, had now been destroyed; and as no effectual means were taken to prevent these outrages, the British government at length intimated that their troops, and those of their allies, would no longer be restrained from following the marauders to their own haunts at Wagur; that the Bhooj durbar would be liable to the

charges of the equipment of the force to be so employed; and that certain instalments, due to his Highness, the Rao, by the Jam of Nawanuggur, would be applied to the indemnification of the losses already sustained. This intimation, on the part of the English government, added to the successes of the Moondra party, which Hussain Meyan had no power to combat, produced a powerful effect on the weak and timid character of that chief. After some vacillation, he at length determined to throw himself on the mercy of his brother, to whom, through the influence of their mother, he was reconciled; and Cutch became once more at the disposal of men inimical to British influence; as proofs of which, the promise formerly made, that the pirate Hussun, who was now a prisoner at Bhooj, should be delivered up, was disregarded,—the Sinde murderer was openly retained in the service of Ibrahim Meyan,—and he and his party adopted every means in their power to show their indifference respecting the claims which had been preferred.

The re-union of the brothers was a prelude to a cruel and barbarous tragedy. Jugjeewan Mehtah's habits of business rendered him at first necessary to them as a minister; but his offences against the party now in power had been too grievous to be forgiven; and the former resolution of assassinating him was soon renewed. His popularity with the Arabs had been for some time gradually on the decline. Most of them, in fact, had incurred large private debts to him, besides receiving considerable advances of pay from him as

a public servant of the durbar, and they now viewed him only in the light of a creditor, from whose importunities they were anxious to be relieved. Under these circumstances, a confidential agent from Ibrahim Meyan found no great difficulty in corrupting the popular Jemidar Ahya; and the whole Arab body finally consented to withdraw their protection from Jugjeewan, in consideration of an acquittance of all sums of money which had been advanced to them from the public treasury, and a present of 6000 cories to each of their leading officers. These proceedings were carried on with the most profound secrecy; and it is but charity to suppose that Hussain Meyan was not made acquainted with them until too late to prevent their fatal effects. The ill-fated object of the conspiracy did not entertain the slightest suspicion of his danger, till the designs of his enemies were ripe for execution, and he saw his residence suddenly surrounded and attacked by a body of armed men, under the command of Ibrahim Meyan in person, and Jafeer Sotah, the brother of the Moondra chief. The presence of two such leaders, whom Jugjeewan had always known to be the most inveterate of his foes, could leave not a moment's doubt on his mind as to the intentions of the assailants. In despair, therefore, he prepared to make the most determined resistance, and, supported by his domestics, actually continued to baffle all attempts to effect an entrance into his house for six hours. At the end of that period, three pieces of ordnance having been brought to bear on the door, further defence was

hopeless; and he was inveigled into a capitulation by a promise sacredly given, that he might proceed to the palace of Futteh Mahommed's sons to plead for his life. The assault had been so protracted, that Ibrahim Meyan had retired before this understanding was entered into; but a negro Jemidar of some importance in his service, named Ibrahim Seedee, who was present, and in whose honour Jugjeewan believed he could repose confidence, having volunteered to become security for the maintenance of the pledge, and even to escort him in safety to the presence of Hussain Meyan, the unfortunate Mehtah went out into the street without hesitation, and accepted his protection. He was then conducted amidst great tumult and confusion, to the gate of Hussain Meyan's residence, where he was appealing to the populace, and imploring his persecutors to spare his life, when Ibrahim Meyan appeared at a window, and, scornfully taunting him with having tried to sell his country to the British, exultingly ordered him to be dispatched; a command which was instantly executed by Jaffeer Sotah and his attendants.

Early in the morning of the same day, Ramchunder Mehtah, the brother of Jugjeewan, on going to pay his usual respects at the durbar, had been entrapped and strangled by order of Ibrahim Meyan, who alleged that he had committed suicide. Another brother, the sole remaining member of the family, named Kooberjee, who had long been in declining health, and who was probably spared by the assassins on account of

his utter helplessness and insignificance, having witnessed the ruin of his house, determined not to survive it, and a few days after, caused himself to be buried alive, agreeably to a custom adopted by Brahmins, of invoking the vengeance of the Almighty upon those who have oppressed them. The bloody work of the conspirators being completed, the Mehtah's house was given over to the pillage of the soldiery, and the most valuable part of his property was confiscated to the state, or rather to the private use of Hussain and Ibrahim Meyans, who took the administration of affairs into their own hands, assisted by Mehtahs Wullubjee, and Luckmadass. Jugjeewan Mehtah had been much respected at Bhooj, and his murder, under such cruel and afflicting circumstances, excited great disgust among the inhabitants. Hussain Meyan had taken no active or open part in it; and the odium appears chiefly to have fallen on Mahommed Meyan Sotah, and his brother Jaffeer, who retired to Moondra, in order to escape the popular indignation, as well as from a fear that the British government would interfere.

The ferment occasioned by these tragical events had scarcely subsided, when Ibrahim Meyan was as suddenly called to the tribunal of Heaven to answer for his offences. He had, in concert with his brother, Luckmadass, and other associates, appointed a public day, in order to bestow rewards and distinctions on his officers, and particularly on those who had assisted him in the murder of Jugjeewan Mehtah; and the whole assembled in great state at Hussain Meyan's re-

sidence for the purpose. Amongst those who presented themselves, in the hope of obtaining notice, was Malum Sing, the Marwarry Jemidar, formerly mentioned as having betrayed Ibrahim Meyan's intrigue with Kesser Bye to Futteh Mahommed, and who now urged a claim of many years' service to the durbar for preferment. Ibrahim Meyan, whose feelings towards the man may be readily conceived, repulsed him with scorn, and the grossest abuse; which the Marwarry immediately resented, by stabbing him mortally on the spot. The scene that followed may be imagined. Hussain Meyan horror-struck, and expecting to be the next victim, rushed with Luckmadass into another apartment; but their apprehension was soon proved to be groundless, for the assassin was instantly cut to pieces, and it was never discovered that he had any confederates.

It is generally understood that Malum Sing went to the levee expressly for the purpose of committing the murder; and this opinion is supported by the fact of his having carried the weapon with which he perpetrated it carefully concealed under his clothes into the assembly. He had just before been relieved from duty at the palace, and he was supposed by many to have been instigated by the Rao; but Bharmuljee, who was then only about eighteen years of age, had previously shown no evil disposition; nor does there seem any good reason for adding this additional sin to his load of crimes. Persons who were well acquainted with the characters of the

parties, and who were eye-witnesses of the transaction, do not attribute it to the provocation that was given at the moment; and Ibrahim Meyan's death may probably be referred to his having engaged in an intrigue with a female connected with the Marwarry Jemidar, whose revenge was no doubt sharpened by the insults that were offered to him. Ibrahim Meyan had not attained the age of twenty-five years when he was assassinated. From his depraved habits, and total want of principle, it is scarcely to be supposed that his death would be regretted; but as he was a young man of great liberality, personal bravery, and address, and the only one of his family who inherited any portion of the talent of his father, the old friends of Futteh Mahommed bewailed his loss, as that of the representative, however unworthy, of their Jemidar, and foresaw the immediate ruin of his house, whose power he himself, from a knowledge of the characters of his children, had prophesied would not long survive him.

The murder of his brother excited the greatest consternation in Hussain Meyan's mind. Unable to distinguish between friends and enemies, he resigned himself almost to despair, and, with the timidity natural to his disposition, remained shut up in his house, guarded by the Arabs. His suspicions at first fell upon the Rao, whose palace he ordered to be attacked; and although his Highness solemnly protested his innocence, a body of Arabs was permanently stationed in the durbar; while, in order to guard against future conspiracies, the Marwarry soldiery in Bhooj, amounting

to two or three hundred men, were either massacred, or expelled from Cutch. All these events created a great sensation throughout the country. The gates of the capital were kept closed for many days, and scarcely any communication took place among the inhabitants. Hussain Meyan's fears rendered him perfectly incapable of acting with calmness or propriety; and the government being without any efficient head, the Arab Jemidars usurped the whole authority, and for a short time conducted the affairs of the state, levying for their own use heavy fines and contributions. Butchow, Chowbaree, and Rhapoor, with several other towns, taking advantage of the imbecility of the government, declared their independence of Bhooj, and even applied for the support and protection of the British. After a time Hussain Meyan, who had never dared to appear in public since the assassination of his brother, sent to implore the assistance of Mahommed Meyan Sotah; who, well aware, however, of his unpopularity, declined visiting Bhooj on the plea of sickness, but added to the troubles of the country, by directing his retainers to plunder in every direction. During this state of affairs, the Wagur freebooters continued their depredations, and the British government again reminded Hussain Meyan of their claims. His personal apprehensions, and the weakness of his administration, made him now readily grasp at any chance of support; and he willingly offered to send an agent to adjust all differences.

But the incapacity of Hussain Meyan for

government, and the despicable nature of his character, had of late become but too apparent. The troubles he had inflicted on the country were now so grievously felt, that the respectable part of the community determined to be relieved from a chief at once odious and contemptible; and the tide of popular opinion turned entirely in favour of Rao Bharmuljee, who had secretly been carrying on negociations with Sewiraj Hunsraj and the principal Jharejahs. Deputies soon arrived from Mandavie, expressing the readiness of the authorities there to acknowledge the Rao; and Sewiraj himself, with Ascaran Sa and many of the chiefs, assembled troops in support of his cause. Hussain Meyan, whom his Arab Jemidars had in vain attempted to inspire with courage, readily yielded to the current; and when it became evident that his cause was unsupported, he made a virtue of necessity, by entering into a compromise with Bharmuljee, who, on his consenting to leave Bhooj, gave him a grant of Anjar, Butchow, Badurghud, and Kunkote. He was then dismissed with an honorary dress, and proceeded to Anjar, whither he was accompanied by all the Arab mercenaries, none of whom the new government would permit to remain at Bhooj. By these measures all opposition being terminated, the keys of the city were delivered, with every formality, to Rao Bharmuljee, who appointed Sewiraj Hunsraj and Ascaran Sa his ministers; and the country, for the present, was restored to quietness.

The British government had awaited the issue

of events at Bhooj, in the hope that a restoration of legitimate authority would lead to an adjustment of their demands. They now renewed their application to the Rao, and expressed their willingness to receive envoys from his Highness; but the measures of this prince soon showed how averse he was to the establishment of a good understanding. The Cutch durbar had not hitherto been absolutely identified with the plunderers of Wagur; but Bharmuljee settled the question, by openly complimenting Sirmanya, the most notorious of these, with a dress of honour; and he also adopted the violent step of compelling the agent of Captain M'Murdo to quit Bhooj, under the evasive pretence that he would employ Soonderjee Seojee, a horse-contractor for the Honourable Company at Mandavie, as the mediator with the British government.

The tranquillity of Cutch was of short duration. The hereditary chieftain of Kunkote suddenly surprised that town, and expelled Hussain Meyan's garrison; Sewiraj Hunsraj and Ascaran Sa quarrelled before six weeks had elapsed, and the latter left Bhooj to join Mahommed Meyan Sotah, who had raised the standard of rebellion at Moondra, and was collecting troops from every quarter. The country was once more involved in faction and confusion. The Rao assembled a force, and moved against Moondra, which he invested, at the sametime compelling the authorities there to listen to terms. Mahommed Meyan Sotah engaged to surrender his town at the end of one month, provided his Highness would im-

mediately withdraw his army, and, in proof of his sincerity, he delivered up his brother, Jaffeer Meyan, as a hostage; but before the stipulated period had elapsed, Jaffeer Meyan contrived to escape to Moondra, and assisted his brother in retaining that place in defiance of the durbar.

The government of Rao Bharmuljee soon became exceedingly unpopular. His marriage, which took place on his return from Moondra, attracted crowds to Bhooj, who were treated by him and his public servants with great indignity. He evinced a strong and unaccountable aversion to the Jharejah chiefs, many of whom had been instrumental in restoring him to the throne; and an unwarrantable attack he made on the chief of Assumbia, whose town he destroyed, and on whose family he imposed a large fine, gave great disgust to the whole of these noblemen. Unpopular as the Rao was in his own dominions, his ministers determined to raise him enemies from abroad. A British and Guicowar force had been ordered to reduce Jooriah in Kattiwar, and Sewiraj Hunsraj openly supplied the rebellious authorities of that place with assistance and ammunition.

The easy and unexpected reduction of Jooriah embarrassed the Cutch government much, and opened the Rao's eyes to the danger of his proceedings. He consequently determined, if possible, to make his peace, even thus late, with the British, and to atone for his offences. With this view, he announced his intention of punishing the Wagur banditti, and marched into that district

with a formidable army. He reduced Planswa, Rhapoor, and Kanmeer, and likewise put to death the notorious plunderer Sirmanya, whom he had before encouraged and rewarded; but it soon became evident that these measures had their origin in fear not inclination, for he did not remain absent from Bhooj longer than fifteen days, and no effectual steps were taken to prevent the future incursions of the freebooters. It would almost appear that Sirmanya had been killed by chance, or contrary to the Rao's wishes, as he dismissed his family, equally atrocious as himself, with promises of protection.

Rao Bharmuljee's presence in Wagur suspended for a short time the operations of the banditti; but he had scarcely withdrawn his force, when their depredations were renewed with redoubled vigour. Captain M'Murdo's own camp was attacked by them in the neighbourhood of Moorvee. In the space of a few months, one hundred and thirty-six villages in Kattiwar had been plundered, forty thousand head of cattle had been carried off, and property to the amount of eight lacs of rupees damaged and destroyed. In addition to all this, an expense had been incurred by the British and Guicowar governments of above ten lacs of rupees in equipping troops to check these unwarrantable proceedings. Forbearance had been misconstrued by the Bhooj durbar into inability; and as it was now certain that the Rao either wanted the power or the inclination to control his unruly subjects, Captain M'Murdo was instructed to make a specific demand of compensa-

tion for the past, and a guarantee against future incursions, together with the surrender of Sirmanya's family, and satisfaction for the insults offered to the British government in having so long delayed, under frivolous pretences, to send an envoy to settle all disputes, as well as for the offensive manner in which the native agent had been forced to leave Bhooj. To these points an explicit answer was required within a given period; and in order clearly to evince the intentions of the allied governments, an army composed of British and Guicowar troops, under the command of Colonel William East, C. B. and Wittul Row Dewanjee, was ordered to advance to the border of the Runn.

Rao Bharmuljee permitted the specified period to elapse without sending any answer to these demands, although, a few days after, he addressed a letter to Captain M'Murdo, couched in general terms, and without any allusion to the articles in question. In consequence of this evasion, the combined troops crossed the Runn at Vensair, and advanced to Wandiah, the chief of which, and many others, immediately threw themselves on the mercy of the allied governments. Proposals had previously been made by the Mandavie and Moondra authorities, both of which had now thrown off their subjection to Bharmuljee, and with them Captain M'Murdo lost no time in entering into a communication, in order to prevent a re-union with the Durbar. He addressed a letter to the Rao, expressing an eager desire that matters might be amicably settled, and still begging agents

to be sent for the purpose. To the principal Jharejahs he issued proclamations calculated to inspire them with confidence, and explanatory of the intention of the British Government, which, he assured them, was resolved neither to interfere with their domestic concerns, nor to disturb their repose, so long as they remained quiet in their own domains, but merely, and amicably if possible, to obtain from the Cutch Durbar satisfaction for the indignities which had been received, indemnification for past losses, and security against future depredation. The most prudent measures were taken to prevent any interference with the inhabitants and villages on the line of march; and, by the time the force reached Butchow, the people had recovered their confidence, and supplies were readily afforded.

Meanwhile Rao Bharmuljee had taken no effectual means, either by assembling a force, or by negociation, to prevent the advance of the British army. He had hoped that some assistance would be afforded him by the Ameers of Sinde; but the Bombay government had taken the precaution of previously explaining its intentions to their Highnesses, and had expostulated with them against any interference with the affairs of Cutch. As the crisis approached, he made an attempt to enter into an alliance with Sewiraj Hunsraj, Mahommed Meyan Sotah, and some other chiefs who had combined against him, but without success. He also directed the Jharejahs to assemble at Bhooj, but a few only obeyed the

summons, and these apparently with no warlike intentions.

Colonel East's force advanced to Bheemasir, within three marches of the capital and one of Anjar, without any show of opposition. The intention of Captain M'Murdo had been to proceed directly to Bhooj, and there to enter into such a treaty as would meet the wishes of his government; but this arrangement was entirely changed from the detection of one of the most treacherous and cowardly acts that ever was recorded. On the arrival of the army at Bheemasir, it was discovered that a large quantity of wheat, and it is said arsenic, had been thrown into the tank on which the troops chiefly depended for water; and information was at the same time received that all the wells in the direction of Bhooj were poisoned in a similar manner. Although suspicions at first attached to Rao Bharmuljee, it was soon ascertained that the perpetrators of this atrocity were horsemen from Anjar, and that the more immediate agent was Hussain Meyan. Under these circumstances, it became clear that the army ought not to proceed without due caution; and it was necessary, as a temporary measure, to take possession of some post that would secure a constant communication with the friendly shores of Kattiwar. Hussain Meyan was accordingly called on to permit the occupation of Anjar, and its tributary fort of Toona, on the sea side, by a British garrison; but as he objected to this proposal, the force advanced, and a battery was erec-

ted against Anjar, which did not surrender until a breach had been rendered practicable. Hussain Meyan was allowed to remain unpunished, and has since lived in obscurity at Moorvee, chiefly on the charity of the Bhooj durbar.

On the reduction of Anjar, which was immediately followed by that of Toona, Captain M'Murdo again addressed the Rao, explaining the cause and necessity of the measures which had been adopted, assuring him that the forts would only be held in trust till an accommodation should be concluded, and again urging him to send agents for the settlement of all disputes. On the day after the surrender of the towns, Mahommed Meyan Sotah made his submission in person at the British camp, and letters were received from the Rao, and Sewiraj Munsraj, of a conciliatory nature.

Under the impression that Bharmuljee's occupation of the throne was considered an usurpation by the chiefs and inhabitants, as well, perhaps, as from some regard to the rights of legitimacy, Captain M'Murdo had been instructed to ascertain the feelings of the Jharejahs towards Ladoba, and if these were favourable, to enter into a treaty with that prince, as the lawful Rao of Cutch. No disposition unfavourable to Bharmuljee was however evinced in any quarter, and it consequently only remained to commence the necessary negociations with him.

It was only on the arrival of the British army at Lackoond, within a few miles of the capital, that agents arrived from Bhooj, expressing the

willingness of their master to agree to the proposed terms. The Rao then delivered a bond, with the security of the principal Jharejahs for twenty lacs of rupees, in payment of all demands, besides a promise of two lacs of cories as a yearly tribute; and, after several negociations, a treaty of amity and alliance was concluded between the governments, of which the principal articles, independently of the compensation for past, and security against future depredations, on the part of the durbar, were an engagement on our part to réduce Wagur, &c. to the subjection of the Rao, and the cession of the city and district of Anjar to the British government, in virtue of which, Captain M'Murdo remained at that place as collector and political resident in Cutch.

## SECTION III.

### FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF 1816, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF 1819.

THE terms of the new treaty were highly advantageous to the Rao Bharmuljee. His title to the throne, however dubious, was now acknowledged by the only power in India which could give it stability; Wagur was reduced under subjection by the British troops in the course of a few weeks; and a yearly assessment, in his name, as lord paramount, was laid on its chiefs, at the rate of forty cories for every plough. The refractory authorities of Mandavie, Moondra, Seesaghud, Butchao, &c. seeing the aspect of affairs, at once submitted; and Bharmuljee found his country, for the first time, free from open faction, and himself in undisputed sovereignty.

Of the twenty lacs of rupees, claimed in name of indemnification and expenses, the British government shortly afterwards remitted their own portion, amounting to above eight hundred thousand, together with the yearly tribute of two lacs of cories; a liberality which at first equally

surprised and delighted the Rao, who found no great difficulty in raising the remaining balance by fines on his refractory chieftains, and demands, under the title of voluntary contributions, from those who had long enjoyed the revenues of the country. Mahommed Meyan Sotah was the only one of these who declared his inability to afford pecuniary assistance; but the Bhooj government eventually found means to obtain from him nearly six lacs of cories.

Tranquillity being thus restored in Cutch, the British troops, with the exception of a small garrison stationed at Anjar, evacuated the country; and the durbar was left free to adopt its own measures. Luckmadass Wullubjee, already spoken of as the confederate of Hussain Meyan, became minister, with the assistance of Nuthoo Mehtah; and the military advisers of the Rao were Jharejahs Nonghuljee of Vinjan, and Pragjee of Kotree. None of these men were favourably inclined to the British interests, nor could much confidence be reposed in them. Luckmadass, a proud and narrow-minded Brahmin, though a man of talent, had been accused as an accessary in the murder of Jugjeewan Mehtah, and Jharejah Pragjee was known to be faithless and treacherous. Luckily for Bharmuljee, however, he found an able and sincere adviser in his sister Kesser Bhye, a young lady who possessed considerable ability, and who, for a time, was able to guide his conduct, by the maxims of prudence and moderation.

The British interference in Cutch had given great offence, and occasioned much apprehension

to the Ameers of Sinde, whose jealousy and fears were not allayed by the repeated explanations they had received from Bombay. They immediately despatched messengers to Bhooj, ostensibly to negociate the payment of a sum of money due at Hyderabad, by a merchant of Luckput, but, in reality, to intrigue with the Rao; and represented the circumstance of our having sent a force into Cutch, in the most exaggerated light to their sovereign lord Mahmood Shah, the king of Cabul, whom they entreated to remonstrate with the supreme government of India. Intelligence was soon after received at Bombay of preparations for the assemblage of a force at Shikarpoor; and various rumours were afloat of the march of the Afghaun army towards Sinde. But the Sindian ambassadors, on their arrival at Bhooj, soon divulged their real object. They represented to the durbar the danger of forming a connexion with neighbours so powerful as the British; and they even went so far as to insinuate that, in case of necessity, the army of the Ameers was at the disposal of Rao Bharmuljee. No means were left untried to break up the alliance; but the Cutch government, fortunately for itself, and whatever may have been its real feelings, was proof against their solicitations; and the vakeels returned to Hyderadad without having gained any apparent object.

The mission from Sinde, however, to the Bhooj durbar was soon followed by a remonstrance from the king of Cabul himself to the governor-general of India; in which, after expressing his con-

viction, that the invasion of the Rao's territories was unsanctioned by his lordship, his Majesty proceeds to claim for himself the sovereignty of Cutch, and to require the renunciation of all interference with that country as a component portion of the Afghaun dominions! A letter from the vizier Futteh Khan Barukzye, which accompanied the king's communication, was still more explicit. It stated, that "news at this time has been brought to the royal feet, that some Feringees of the English tribe, having more boldness than discretion, have shown a disposition to create disturbance, and have extended the hand of encroachmont to the country of Cutch, which is the frontier district of the royal dominions. On hearing of this, the mind of his majesty was disturbed with anger, and his royal mandate was issued, that letters should be dispatched to all the Nazims of the provinces of the kingdom, enjoining them to be prepared, and to expect the receipt of further orders." The vizier proceeds to say, that, "if the people in question should not be restrained, and if intelligence of a similar occurrence should again reach the king, that two lacs of Douranies and Elats, four dustahs of Emacks and Tymoorias, Huzarahs as numerous as ants and grasshoppers, the tribes of Ghiljes, and Andarees, and Tonkas, and Makoos, and Khookhanies, and Kohistanies; the armies composed of the Khuselbashees, and Moghuls, and Kanwaries, and Toorkalans, and Shurawanies Husmud Khatick, and the Bungoes great and small, and the Daoodyes, and the Rohaus, and the Mahmoodzyes,

and the Yoozafzyes both of the hills and of the plains, and the men of Nagaon and Aman, and the Nuwab Suboolund Khan, ruler of Kutch Walliah, and the governor of the Derahs, and of Mooltan, and the army of Beloches, Burohooe, and Muzara, and Rokunood Dowlah, and Amesrood Dowlah, with the Beloche army, and a train of artillery, and a Shaha Khaneh,—all these forces, numerous as the waves of the sea, having collected agreeably to the royal orders, will surround these people, and annihilate them, and friendship will be at an end. It is best, therefore, that you should prohibit them, and restrain them from these improper proceedings."

This high-sounding epistle, together with the formidable muster-roll of his Majesty's forces, was not likely to excite much alarm in the mind of the Marquis of Hastings, who considered it, or, at all events, determined to treat the whole as forgery. His Lordship addressed a friendly reply to the vizier, in which he declared his conviction that the communications from Cabul were the fabrication of persons ill-disposed to both states, who sought to embroil them with a view to obtain some benefit to themselves; reminded him that Cutch had never at any time formed part of the dominions of the Afghaun monarchy; and shortly explained the object of the British interference; adding, that he necessarily believed the letter fictitious, since he was too well apprized of the knowledge, experience, and sagacity of Futteh Khan, to imagine that he could conceive the British Government would for a moment be in-

fluenced by any display of force, and that his information was too enlarged not to know, that though it does not misuse its strength by wantonly trespassing on its neighbours, it has never been attacked without destroying those who unjustly assailed it.

The state of affairs in Cabul was, however, somewhat changed before his lordship's reply reached that kingdom, and the messenger who conveyed it, after having been detained several weeks as a prisoner, by a detachment of Runjeet Sing's army, overtook the vizier at Peshavur ready to take the field against the Sikhs, who were threatening the frontier at Attock. Futted Khan, with that adroitness which native diplomatists generally display, immediately resolved to turn the letter to account, and with the view of impressing his enemies with sentiments favourable to his own interests, ordered a salute to be fired on its reception; at the same time proclaiming aloud through his camp that despatches had been received from the friend of the Cabul government, the Governor-General of India.

To the Marquis of Hastings the vizier replied in the most hyperbolical terms of oriental metaphor; assuring Captain M'Murdo, who had been the medium of communication, that "the sweet and delicious perfume of his lordship's rose-scented letter had ascended, with the most exquisite sensations, to the innermost recesses of his brain;" and that, from the moment he had perused it, he felt the excess of his regard for the British government, between which, and the state of Cabul, he

trusted that the "carpet of friendship would even be spread in the palace of affection." He desired the courier to inform the British agent, that, in the prosecution of his operations against the Sikhs, he not only did not expect an enemy in the English, but looked for their support; that in due time he meant to bring Sinde to its former state of dependence on Cabul; and that, if they had really any views towards that country, he would readily enter into them, and afford his assistance. To complete the farce, he gravely professed ignorance of the letters which had been received at Calcutta, and declared, that he could only account for them by supposing, that a Sindian agent had procured by bribery, impressions of his own and other official seals, from a faithless secretary who had been left at the capital of Cabul.

The Cutch government had, in the meantime, betrayed its utter unworthiness of the confidence and liberality of the British. Strange as it may seem, even the releasing it from a bond of so many lacs of rupees, excited the suspicion of its members; and the effects of the Sindian intrigues were soon visible. The increased power of the Rao only served to swell his arrogance and pride. During an occasional absence of the resident, the durbar determined to seize on the port of Toona; and for this purpose, the Arab mercenaries were recruited at Bhooj, in express opposition to the articles of the late treaty. But these treacherous designs were crushed in their birth by the vigilance and decision of Captain M'Murdo, who

called in the assistance of some troops from Okamundel, on the Kattiwar side of the gulf, and insisted on the immediate reduction of the newly raised levies. His demands, after a great deal of evasion, were tardily complied with; and, indeed, much indifference was shown to every proposal emanating from the British government. The Khosas, a predatory tribe inhabiting the desert to the north of Cutch, had at this period commenced their marauding incursions; but nothing could induce the Rao to defend his own territories from these freebooters, much less to enter into any arrangement for the protection of those of his allies.

Evil and ungrateful as was this disposition on the part of the durbar, matters gradually became much worse. Luckmadass and his party, though indifferent, had never wished to come to an absolute rupture with the British government; but their influence speedily declined, and the Rao found far worse counsellors. He became addicted to constant intoxication and the lowest sensuality, and selected, as the associates of his pleasures, men of the meanest and most depraved characters, whose interest and object it appears to have been to instil into his mind constant suspicions of his new allies, and of their representative, Captain M'Murdo. Among these, as particularly worthy of execration, we may here mention Mohunjee Tuckkur, a wretch, who may with justice be called the evil genius of Rao Bharmuljee, and to whom all the subsequent misfor-

tunes of that unhappy prince are mainly to be attributed.

The consequence of all this was soon apparent. The whole power fell into the hands of the Rao's profligate favourites; and every act of tyranny and injustice that could feed his avarice, or minister to his guilty enjoyments, was daily sanctioned. The very influence of the British government, by which it was insinuated, and generally believed, he would be supported under all circumstances, enabled him to obtain enormous sums, as loans, from the merchants and other persons of property; and when this resource failed, every species of extortion was practised. The revenues for eight months in advance were seized from the cultivators of the soil, and twenty lacs of cories were exacted in fines from the household officers and managers of the districts, to be dissipated in the grossest debauchery. Bharmuljee himself was almost never seen outside his apartments; he paid no attention whatever to business, and daily became more odious to his people. He debauched the daughter of Futteh Mahommed, in revenge, as he declared, for Ibrahim Meyan's similar conduct to his sister; and women of all classes were publicly seized in the streets, to be dragged to the palace, and there despoiled of their ornaments and their virtue. No man possessed of any wealth was safe in the country. The Jharejahs, with scarcely an exception, retired to their own estates, and never visited Bhooj; and the ministers themselves, formerly so averse to British influence,

having now lost both their property and power, entreated the interposition of Captain M'Murdo, as the only means of saving their lives. That officer was not by his instructions authorized to interfere; but, through his influence, he was enabled to obtain the appointment, as a member of the administration, of Ruttunsi Jetta, the nephew of Soondurjee Seojee, long a faithful and meritorious servant of the East India Company, in the hope that his talents and conciliatory manners might gain him such an ascendancy over Bharmuljee, as gradually to withdraw him from his evil habits and associates.

The resident's own efforts were directed to the same object, but unhappily proved fruitless; nor did Ruttunsi unfortunately ever obtain sufficient influence to secure so desirable an end. The Rao's depraved habits and their disastrous effects became daily more aggravating, and at length ended in a crime which showed that all principle and humanity had been discarded and forgotten. Ladoba, the unfortunate son of Bhyjee Bawa, since the elevation of his cousin to the throne, had remained as a kind of state prisoner in the durbar; where, however, he was not rigidly guarded, but even frequently admitted as a companion at the debauched orgies of the Rao. His Highness and he had passed an evening together in drinking, and parted at a late hour with mutual professions of friendship; yet five minutes had scarcely elapsed before Ladoba was attacked by some armed men, in passing through one of the courts of the Palace, and brutally assassinated.

The Rao attempted for a time to deny his participation in this cruel and treacherous transaction, which he declared to have been an unauthorized act of his guards, and even dissembled so far as to seize a musket and threaten to shoot the principal assassin; but it was soon discovered that the murder had been committed by his express orders, issued at the moment Ladoba left him, and that he had himself witnessed it from a window. No punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators of the atrocity; and the chief of these, an Arab Jamidar, named Abdool Kareem, was not only not removed from his situation, but was promoted in rank, and received many additional marks of his master's favour. Three months had not elapsed, however, before the hand of justice overtook this miscreant; for, a cow having been killed in the streets of Bhooj, by a soldier under his command, whom he attempted to shield from the punishment due to such an outrage on the prejudices of the Hindoos, he was put to death, together with the offender, by order of the Rao.

The murder of Ladoba was an act of wanton and uncalled-for tyranny. No provocation had been given on his part, nor could his claims to the throne, now laid aside and forgotten, interfere with the Rao's possession of it, sanctioned as it was by the solemn decision of the Jharejah brotherhood, and the countenance of the British government. We might in charity be inclined to attribute the assassination to frenzy proceeding from intoxication, did it not appear from Bharmuljee's subsequent conduct that his mind was

the prey of every suspicion, however unjust or ridiculous, and that his cruelty to Ladoba's family did not cease even with the murder of his unfortunate relative.

This barbarous proceeding on the part of the Rao occasioned much disgust in Cutch. Many of the Jharejah chiefs began now, when too late, to regret their indifference to the better-founded claims of Ladoba to the throne; most of them loudly expressed their abhorrence of his murder; and a feud broke out between the chieftains of Vinjan and Sandan in the Abbrassa, which may be traced to that cause. Bharmuljee's hatred against the Bhyauds had not been diminished by recent events, and he readily seized the opportunity of taking a part in the quarrel, and of levying a heavy fine on Sandan; an act of oppression, which, as will afterwards appear, was a main reason of his losing his throne.

The intelligence of these events reached Bombay, together with an affecting appeal from the father of the widow of the murdered prince, a petty chief in Kattiwar, who lived under the protection of the British government, and who implored it, by every principle of mercy and justice, to remonstrate with the Rao. He stated, that his daughter, now seven months advanced in pregnancy, had been placed in strict confinement at Bhooj, and entreated that she should be removed from that city, and delivered over to his own protection; representing, as an additional reason for this measure, that two children, formerly born to Ladoba, had been put to death, on the

plea of their being female, and that no other fate could be looked for to the expected infant and its unfortunate mother. Instructions were in consequence issued to Captain M'Murdo, to express to the Rao the deep regret of the British government, that so horrid a deed should have been committed at his court—an act which must, in some degree, reflect on the government which supported him by its friendship; to desire the punishment of the assassins; and to require, as the only means of atonement, his attention and regard to the widow and her expected offspring. Letters were at the sametime addressed to the Jharejah chiefs, intimating the expectation of the honourable the Governor in Council, that the widow and her child would be treated with kindness and respect, and requesting them to write to, and to visit the Rao, and to use their influence with him to secure so charitable a purpose.

This representation was viewed by Rao Bharmuljee with the greatest jealousy and distrust. He declared that the question was one entirely of a domestic nature, such as could admit of no foreign interference; and plainly intimated, that the further mention of it would lead to an open rupture. He immediately recalled his army from the Abbrassa, where it was still employed; augmented his troops in other quarters; and proceeded to make preparations of a nature quite at variance with the conduct of a friendly and pacific state. The question of demanding the restoration of Anjar on all sums being paid, was agitated in the durbar; and a plan was proposed to sur-

prise that town, by introducing a body of armed men in a number of grass carts. The native British agent at Bhooj was treated in a manner little short of contempt; and every thing showed that the Rao wanted the ability, rather than the inclination, to proceed to open hostility.

The levies which had been collected were chiefly sent into Wagur, under the pretence of punishing the Khosas; but enough had been seen of the Rao's disposition, to induce the resident to call for reinforcements to the garrison of Anjar. A British regiment accordingly crossed the Runn from Guzerat; and application was made to the durbar for assistance in the way of supplies during its march. This request was not only refused, but the Rao ordered his troops under arms, prepared twenty-five pieces of field-artillery, and every arrangement was made to march, when the expedition was unexpectedly countermanded; the fumes of intoxication having evaporated, or his Highness having been deterred by the entreaty of some one remaining friend to his interests. On the approach of the battalion to Anjar, he stationed a body of troops ten miles in advance of Bhooj, and obstructed all communication between the two cities; but these were withdrawn a few days after on the remonstrance of the resident, and through the influence of Ruttunsi.

Meanwhile the conduct of Rao Bharmuljee appeared in a different light to the court of Hyderabad: and that extraordinary government, on hearing of the murder of Ladoba, sent an am-

bassador to Bhooj to *condole* with him on the death of his cousin; to expatiate on the friendly disposition of the Ameers; and to offer him aid against any of the Jharejah chiefs who might prove refractory. Exaggerated reports had reached Sinde of the domestic disturbances in Cutch; and their Highnesses, from a fear that the Rao would again request the assistance of the English, determined, if possible, to keep these, their constant object of dread, at a distance, by offering the necessary support themselves. The envoy was received, and treated with great respect; but the durbar declined the assistance of the Ameers, purchased, as it is now believed it must have been, by the cession of the fortress of Luckput Bunder, on the eastern branch of the Indus, which, from its vicinity to their own frontier, had long been a desirable object of acquisition to the Sindians.

The Rao continued his reckless course of tyranny and dissipation. Excluding himself from the society of all except the dissolute companions of his pleasures, he was alike indifferent to the stings of conscience, and the sufferings of his subjects. A glimpse into the interior of the palace at this period is afforded by a letter which the widow of Ladoba contrived to send to her friends through the medium of a slave girl; and in which she describes Rao Bharmuljee as having determined to violate her person, and murder her infant. The latter was saved through the entreaties of the minister Luckmadass, but the fate of the unfortunate mother has never been properly ascertained. Cutch was now fallen into as miser-

able a state as it had been in during the worst times of the mis-government of Rao Rahiden. Open rebellion and faction were only prevented by a dread of incurring the vengeance of the British Government, to which the Rao's hatred and dislike daily increased; and he was so infatuated, as to allow these feelings to evince themselves on every occasion. He never spoke of Captain M'Murdo but in terms of the grossest abuse; and, whenever intoxication supplied him with sufficient courage or candour, his designs against Anjar were loudly boasted of. His actions, moreover, in some measure, kept pace with his declarations. He put an end to the trade of the merchants of Anjar, by laying such duties on the cotton bought by them within his territories, as to render it impossible for them to send it to Toona; and, to complete the measure of folly, he prohibited vessels belonging to any other port from engaging in their service.

These aggressions were not permitted to proceed without remonstrance on the part of the resident. He had before taken various opportunities to entreat the Rao to discard his profligate habits and advisers. He now, with a degree of courage and decision equally creditable,—at a time, too, when every thing forboded treachery, and when he had been privately apprized of intentions to murder him,—paid a visit to the capital, and personally warned Bharmuljee of the danger and folly of his conduct, and of its inevitable consequences. The particulars of Captain M'Murdo's interviews at the durbar have been

related to me by the late Major Noble, an officer who accompanied him; and I have since been able to learn the real intentions of the Rao from persons then in his service. All accounts concur in stating, that he had given his consent to Tukkur Mohunjee for the assassination of the resident; and that it was only when that gentleman appeared in the durbar, that his resolution happily failed him, and the projected atrocity was countermanded. No respect, however, was shown to him or his suite on their visits to the durbar; on the contrary, they were jostled by the troops and attendants as they passed through the courts of the palace; their salutations were not even returned; and the populace appear to have been instructed, or, at all events, permitted, to assail them with ribaldry and abuse. The Rao himself was found intoxicated on every occasion of Captain M'Murdo's waiting upon him. He showed himself indifferent to every proposal which was made to him, and contented himself with flatly denying ever having given cause of offence. To a proposition to reduce the troops, agreeably to an article in the treaty, he turned a deaf ear; and the resident left Bhooj without having gained any one object.

Discontent and anarchy had now reached their height in this devoted province. Nutthoo Metha and others of the ministers fled, as the only means of saving their lives; and Luckmadass and his party became entirely favourable to the introduction of the British influence. The Rao's interference with Sandan, and an attempt he made to

impose a tribute on the Jharejah chiefs as a body, gave great dissatisfaction to the Bhyauds, who addressed a letter to the Bombay government, in which they set forth, that they had never been in the habit of making pecuniary payments, and entreated assistance, in the event of the durbar's attempting to enforce its unjust claims; finally, they declared their conviction, that the interposition of British authority was absolutely necessary for a thorough reformation in the affairs of Cutch. The Bombay government did not consider itself called on to interfere in a quarrel between the Jharejahs and their sovereign, whose claim to the crown they themselves had so recently acknowledged; nor did it wish to take any decided measures till the Rao's conduct should be such as to render actual hostility inevitable. This soon occurred; for Bharmuljee, who had been daily becoming more and more infatuated, at length formed the resolution of attacking, by surprise, the town of Anjar, over some of the villages attached to which he had previously tried to assume an unwarrantable degree of authority. With this view, he summoned all persons holding lands of the durbar, by military tenure, including Meeanahs to Bhooj; and marched to Lackhoond with five thousand men, and eleven pieces of cannon. Before adopting this step, he had, partly by promises of future forbearance towards them, and partly by intimidation, induced several of the Jharejahs to accompany his army with their quotas of troops, or a portion of them.

The Rao attempted to disguise his real de-

signs, by intimating to the resident his intention to move into Wagur to punish his refractory subjects in that province; though this pretence was of itself rendered glaringly improbable, from his having just previously recalled all his garrisons from that quarter. Preparations being made at Anjar to repel attack, he was forced to relinquish his views on that place, but he determined to adopt another mode of insulting the British government, and of showing his disregard of the treaty he had entered into. He suddenly marched against Arrysier, a town in the eastern extremity of Cutch, the chief of which was then residing at Anjar, under the protection of the resident, and engaged through his mediation in the amicable settlement of some disputes between himself and the durbar. Captain M'Murdo remonstrated in the most forcible manner with the Rao on the injustice of his conduct; reminded him that the Honourable Company had become, in virtue of the treaty, the mediator between him and the Wagur Zumeendars—that Killian Sing, the chief of Arrysier, had been called to Anjar, at his Highness's own request, to adjust all differences; and ended his communication in these words:—"Should you be determined in destroying Arrysier, be guided by your own pleasure; but in so doing, there will be no distinction from entirely throwing off all connexion with the British government."

This intimation passed unheeded by the Rao, who, contrary to every advice except that of Tuk-

kur Mohunjee, and his confederates, continued to carry on the siege of Arrysier; and it was only after the expiration of two months, when he found that fort likely to baffle all his attempts, that he again thought of adopting a conciliatory tone towards Captain M'Murdo. He then addressed a letter to that officer, filled with general expressions of friendship towards himself and his government, without referring in any way to the communications made to him regarding his late proceedings; but this step, could it at any time have been effectual, was now too late: for the treaty between the governments had in the interim been suspended; and the Marquis of Hastings had proclaimed Rao Bharmuljee a public enemy, and had given instructions to proceed to the extremity of war against him. The object of his Lordship had been to effect the establishment of a government in Cutch, disposed to maintain the relations with the British power in India, fixed by the treaty of 1816; and as it was hopeless to expect this from a prince of Rao Bharmuljee's character and conduct, orders were issued to accept the spontaneous and long proffered co-operation of the Jharejahs for his dethronement, as well as to request that body of noblemen to elevate to the musnud whomsoever they considered the lawful heir to that dignity. To give full effect to these instructions, a British army was forthwith assembled, under the command of Sir William Grant Keir, at Anjar, where it was joined by Visrajee, the two Pragjees, Allyajee, and My-

aminyee, the five principal Jharejah chiefs in Cutch, who expressed their readiness and anxiety to co-operate in the measures to be adopted.

The Rao, who had during this interval entered into a compromise with the chief of Arrysier, quickly returned to Bhooj, where he was seized with a violent illness. He was consequently unable himself to make any preparations, or give orders in person; but his partizans and favourites collected a considerable force; and on the approach of the British army to the capital, some skirmishing took place. Captain M'Murdo then intimated to Bharmuljee the intention of his government to organize anew the affairs of Cutch in concert with the Jharejah Bhyaud; and called on him either to stand by the consequences of resistance, or to surrender himself; promising, in the event of his adopting the latter alternative, that he should meet with safety and consideration. This proposal was not attended to till the Hill-Fort of Bhoorjeeah, which overlooks the city of Bhooj, was taken by escalade on the following day; upon which, through the negociation of the minister, Luckmadass, Rao Bharmuljee was brought to the tent of the resident, and placed under a guard of British troops. Every respect was paid to him, consistently with the safety of his person, and the kindest attention shown to his health, which, from constant intemperance, and his recent indisposition, was now so completely broken, that he was scarcely able to walk or articulate.

A few days after his surrender, Rao Bharmuljee was formally deposed, and placed in a palace

built by Futteh Mahommed, which was selected for his residence. The Jharejah chiefs were then left entirely to themselves to choose his successor; and it was generally expected that the election would have been in favour of the infant son of the murdered Prince Ladoba; but, strange as it may seem, after a perusal of these pages, the only son of Bharmuljee, a child of three years of age, received the unanimous votes of the Bhyaud, and was accordingly raised to the throne by the name of Rao Dessul. The minister, Luckmadass, is understood to have secured, by his influence, this decision in favour of the offspring of his fallen master; an act of disinterestedness and forgiveness of injuries, which is highly creditable, when it is recollected that his own life was often in imminent danger from the violence and cruelty of the Rao, and that his property had been seized by the orders of that now unhappy prince. But Luckmadass, and many others with whom I have conversed on this topic, appear even then to have viewed Bharmuljee rather as the weak and infatuated minion of a base and profligate party, from which it was impossible to detach him, than as a man by nature cruel and tyrannical; and the minister's hostility against him seems to have been much softened at the crisis of his fall. Necessary as was his dethronement, several of the Jharejahs, acting from the same impression, still wished, after that decided step, that the government should be carried on in his name; and when they found that the proposal was objected to, they evinced their respect for his feelings and misfor-

tunes, by entreating that kindness should be shown him in his confinement, and that the succession should remain in his family. The election of the Bhyaud proved in the end more fortunate than if it had fallen on the weakly child of Ladoba, (whom, however, they declared the next heir to Dessuljee, in the event of his not living to have issue,) as he died a few weeks after, and the race of Bhyjee Bawa, the legitimate branch of the royal family of Cutch, became extinct.

The next requisite step towards the settlement of affairs, was the appointment of a regency, to carry on the government during the minority of his Highness Rao Dessul; and the Jharejahs were again requested to nominate a sufficient number of persons for the purpose. Their choice fell on Jharejahs Visrajee of Roha, and Petrajee of Nangurcha, the two most powerful chiefs in Cutch, Oodowjee, a Rajgoor Brahmin, the minister Luckmadass, and Ruttunsi Jetta. The name of the British resident was also included; but as the object of the Governor-General was to render Cutch, as far as possible, an independent state, the arrangement was at first objected to; and it was only through the earnest solicitations of the Jharejah Bhyaud, combined with those of the existing members of the regency, that his lordship at length consented to the appointment of Captain M'Murdo as president of the latter body.

The measures which had been adopted at Bhooj gave satisfaction generally to all classes throughout the country; and no town evinced

any unwillingness to acknowledge the new Rao and the authority of the regency, except Luckput Bunder, which was garrisoned by Arabs, of whose submission doubts were for some time entertained, but it finally surrendered without any military operations being undertaken against it. Matters being now settled on a firm basis, the regency proceeded to correct the innumerable abuses in every department of the state, and to discharge the useless and expensive levies of troops which Bharmuljee had maintained. A British force was subsidized for the defence of the country and the support of the government; and the honour of guarding the Rao's palace was given up entirely to the Jharejahs, to the exclusion of the low-born wretches whom the late Rao had introduced to that responsible duty.

The tyranny and injustice of Rao Bharmuljee had scarcely been crushed, and a new and better order of things introduced through the means of the British government, when the hand of Providence seemed to join in depriving Cutch of some of the instruments of cruelty. A violent shock of an earthquake, attended with some extraordinary circumstances, levelled with the dust nearly all the walled towns in the country, and anticipated an intention, which had often been conceived, of dismantling some of these nests of discontent and treason. The desolation which ensued can scarcely be imagined. In Bhooj alone, seven thousand houses were rent to their foundations, and twelve hundred persons buried in the ruins. Anjar suffered equally in proportion, and

much injury was sustained, with the loss of many lives, at Mandavie and other large towns. The phenomena which accompanied this awful visitation, it is unnecessary to detail here, as they have been described in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay.

In conformity with the spirit of the measures which have been detailed in these pages, and, as better calculated to maintain a firm and honourable alliance between the two states, a new treaty, containing, in addition to most of the articles of that of 1816, many others adapted to the improved condition of affairs, was shortly after concluded between the governments. It will be seen, on a reference to it, that the British government wished carefully to abstain from all interference in the Rao's internal authority; whilst it agreed to guarantee his power and the "integrity of his dominions" from all enemies, foreign and domestic. A bond of a similar description was extended to the Jharejah chiefs, who had established a claim on us by their conduct during the late revolution, and whose possessions were also secured to them, on their consenting to preserve their female children. In return for these important concessions, the advantages derived by the British government are almost nominal; for, with the exception of an annual subsidy of two lacs and eighty thousand rupees, equal to the support of one-half of the force which has been generally required, we receive nothing from the Bhooj durbar, to which Anjar and its dependencies have since been restored. In enumerating the

benefits of the alliance, we must not omit, however, the grand victory in favour of humanity, in the abolition of infanticide; a horrid practice, which it has been our object, ever since our connexion with Cutch and Kattiwar, to put a stop to, and which we have certainly succeeded in diminishing in these countries.

If we take into consideration the dreadful state of affairs, which had existed for years before we entered Cutch, we must conclude, that the new arrangements were entirely in favour of that kingdom; for had not the British government interfered, and the strong arm of power, in this instance upheld by justice, been stretched out to rescue that unhappy country from confusion and anarchy, it must soon have ceased to be a state; and it would either have fallen into the iron grasp of the military despots of Sinde, or, if these had been excluded, Cutch would have become a prey, as before, to its own numerous petty tyrants. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive in what excesses the profligacy and imbecility of the government, and, we may add, the general depravity of the people of this wretched province, with whom bloodshed and treason had become as "household words," might have ended.

Postscript, 15th June 1829.—Since the period at which our narration closes, Cutch has continued to enjoy all the blessings of English rule. Disturbance has at intervals existed, but when serious, it has always been the result of famine,

or causes of a similar nature, which no human government could control. The rains of 1823 and 1824 failed entirely, and the misery which this occasioned in a country solely dependent on the heavens for water may be conceived. Many of the inhabitants emigrated into Guzerat, and returned after the season of scarcity was over: while others less peaceable, crossed into Parkhur and Sinde, where, combining with military mercenaries from these countries, and adventurers from the neighbouring provinces, they formed themselves into bands, and made incursions into Cutch, several of the villages of which they plundered and destroyed. The more favourable season of 1825, together with the new and less oppressive system in the collection of the Rao's revenue, which was at that time introduced by the request of the regency, under the superintendence of the assistant resident, had the effect of putting an end to the outrages of these plunderers; most of whom had been forced by hunger to adopt their lawless proceedings, and on the re-appearance of plenty returned quietly to their native fields, which, with a few exceptions, the lenity of the durbar allowed them to retain unmolested.

The protection afforded to these lawless depredators, and to others of the same description, in the territories of the Sinde government, has brought us at different times into collision with the Ameers; and we have been forced on two occasions (1820 and 1825,) to assemble large bodies of troops in Cutch, in order to awe these chiefs in-

to a maintenance of their treaties. By a new agreement concluded between the British and Cutch governments in 1822, Anjar and its dependencies were restored to the Rao, on his consenting to pay to us yearly the estimated revenue, viz. eighty-eight thousand rupees; making the entire sum we annually receive from his Highness to amount to two lacs, eighty-eight thousand rupees. From the famine which has been mentioned and other causes, this subsidy has been frequently ill paid, sometimes even remitted, and altogether has proved totally inadequate to support the heavy expences which have been entailed on us by our connexion with Cutch. Our government, it is true, have gained this province as a frontier; but its advantages in that respect are even doubtful; while, from its being a constant and unsatisfactory drain on our finances, the evils arising from the alliance have been great and positive. On this subject, however, it becomes not me to enlarge.

Of the persons alluded to in the foregoing narrative, some further mention may be interesting. Captain M'Murdo died soon after the treaty of 1819 was concluded,—much too soon for his country, and to the regret equally of the European and native community in Cutch, of which province he was the deliverer. He expired, and was buried at Burrunwao, near Palanswa, in Wagur, where his tomb is carefully protected by the inhabitants, and is an object of veneration, to which persons still make pilgrimages from a distance. Surely an amiable man need seek no higher re-

ward than this for his exertions. His Highness Rao Dessul has now attained the age of thirteen years, and promises to fulfil the expectations of his subjects to the utmost. He has acquired a knowledge of the English language, from the instructions of the Reverend Mr. Gray, the chaplain at Bhooj, who has also instilled into his youthful mind a taste for astronomy and some other sciences.

His father, the Ex-Rao Bharmuljee, still continues a prisoner. The unhappy man has not yet attained the age of thirty-four, after having passed ten years of his life in confinement. When I first saw him, five years ago, he was a squalid miserable wretch, still in Futteh Mahommed's palace; and, from the period of his dethronement up to that time, had never been allowed to see his son, nor, I believe, any of the members of his family. Colonel Pottinger, however, who came to Bhooj as resident in 1825, and who, to the credit of his feelings,

> "Pitied child and parent separated
> By the stern mandate of unfeeling law,"

determined to ameliorate his condition, and obtained the sanction of government for his removal to a more comfortable residence. Since then he has occupied capacious apartments, elegantly fitted up, in his son's palace; where, though still under a guard of British troops, he is allowed every liberty consistently with his safe custody. He is even permitted to go out twice a-week,

when he chooses to take an airing, accompanied by a European officer and a few Sepahis.* His time is chiefly passed in the society of his son, the present Rao, in whose lessons he takes great interest, and for whom he entertains the strongest personal attachment. In the placid and dignified deportment of this unfortunate prince, none could now recognize the treacherous murderer, and the cruel despot who inflicted such accumulated miseries on his subjects. He is temperate, even to a degree; and his contrition, for the murder of his cousin, is believed to be heartfelt and sincere. It has, however, evidently affected his conscience frequently; and, with the view of atoning for his crime, he, in the year 1827, sent the ashes of Ladoba, at a great expense, under the charge of a body of Brahmins, to the holy city of Benares, to be consigned, with appropriate ceremonies, to the waters of the Ganges. Such are the uses of adversity, which has not failed to exert its chastening effect upon Rao Bharmuljee. I should not omit to mention, that the remains of Rao Rahiden have also been lately transferred to the same sacred city, to expiate his apostacy from the faith of his forefathers, and the many horrors which, as a Mahommedan enthusiast, he brought upon his country.

Kesser Byhee, the sister of Rao Bharmuljee, was eventually married to the Nawaub of Joonaghur, in Kattiwar, at whose court she died, it is

* Sir John Malcolm, on his visit to Bhooj in March 1830, at the request of the native government, ordered the guard to be entirely removed from the Ex-Rao Bharmuljee.

said, by unfair means. The natives of Cutch have a story, that her death was occasioned by poison inserted into her slippers. On the conclusion of the first treaty, Mahommed Meyan Sotah, and Sewiraj Hunsraj, who were obliged to disgorge immense sums of money which they had appropriated to their own use, fell into insignificance. They both died about the middle of the year 1818, it was supposed by poison. Hussain Meyan still lingers out a disreputable existence. He pays an annual visit to Bhooj, the scene of his father's greatness, and his own dishonour; while his gross and bloated appearance denotes the nature of his pursuits. Futteh Mahommed had some other sons, but none of them are known in Cutch. His daughter, whose person Rao Bharmuljee violated, has sunk to the lowest state of prostitution.

After the treaty of 1819, the affairs of Cutch fell chiefly to be managed by the British resident, the minister Luckmadass, and Ruttunsi Jetta, the Jharejah members of the regency declining, for the most part, to interfere. The most important of the latter, Visrajee of Roha, was detected in treasonable communication with some rebels in 1825, and was expelled from the administration, and banished from the capital; another chief being elected in his stead. His expulsion was followed in 1827 by the disgrace of Ruttunsi, who was found to be a defaulter to the state, as well as implicated in several mean and dishonourable transactions, which in the end overwhelmed himself and the whole family of Soonderjee Seo-

jee in ruin, and lost them the esteem and confidence of the British government. Rao Dessul begins to show an interest in public affairs, and frequently holds durbars; but the chief management remains as yet in the hands of the resident and Luckmadass; and although the latter was believed formerly to be an actor in some of the melancholy scenes we have described, it is but justice to say, that his conduct now is marked by integrity. I may add, that he is the only individual at present in Cutch, who, from his birth and general respectability, is entitled to the elevation he has attained.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

### COLONEL POTTINGER'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NAVIGATION OF THE INDUS.

1. It appearing that the arrangements made for opening the Indus as a channel of commerce, are very imperfectly understood, the following summary of them has been drawn up for general information.

2. The perpetual treaties made with the governments of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor in April 1832, provided for that portion of the Indus which flows through Sinde being thrown open to all merchants and traders, with the three following reservations, evidently dictated by the fears or jealousy of the rulers of that province.

1st. That no military stores should be conveyed by that route.

2d. That no armed vessels should proceed by it.

3d. That no British (European) merchants should settle in Sinde, " but shall come as occa-

sion may require, and having transacted their business, shall return to India."

3. A supplementary treaty, of the same date as the above, stipulated, that the Sinde government should furnish a statement of duties, which was to be examined by officers of the British government versed in such matters; that if the duties were found to be fair and equitable, they should be brought into operation, but that, should they be considered too high, the Ameers of Sinde were to reduce them.

4. In conformity with this agreement, a statement of duties was furnished and examined, when they were found to be preposterously high, amounting in some cases to upwards of cent. per cent. on the price of goods, and in none to less than half that charge. This statement, it is to be observed, had been evidently fabricated for the occasion, though asserted to have been extracted from the old records of the times of the emperors (of Delhi), and was doubtless brought forward by the rulers of Sinde as a ruse, by which they perhaps hoped to render nugatory the agreement for opening the Indus, to which they had most reluctantly acceded.

5. Inquiry was next set on foot with a view to fixing a tariff, which should be just towards the states possessing territories on the banks of the river, and at the same time hold forth that encouragement which was clearly required to induce merchants to adopt the new route. After much discussion and correspondence, some portions of which latter were made public at the

time, the conclusion arrived at was, "That a toll was preferable to any modification that could be devised of a custom duty; that the toll might vary with the various capacities of boats, or might be fixed upon a calculation of their average capacity, and that the latter, as shutting out all excuse for delay and examination, and preventing every occasion for dispute connected with the dues of the governments," was the best.

6. The next questions for decision were the "average capacity of boats," and the "proper amount of toll." The former was fixed, on principles that will be explained in the sequel, at thirty tatta khurwars of 1882 English pounds each, or forty-seven furruckabad maunds. "The proper amount of toll" was a point of more difficulty, for it was ascertained, that what would "fall very lightly on the more valuable articles of export and import, including every kind of cloth, would press heavily on bulky articles of low price, in which the greater part of the trade, both in quantity and value, will consist." The result was, that a toll of nineteen tattah rupees per khurwar, or five hundred and seventy per boat from the sea to Roopur, thirty miles east of Loodhiana, was deemed the highest that could be imposed with a due encouragement of the trade, and of this sum it was proposed to assign to the Sinde government eight rupees a khurwar, or two hundred and forty rupees on each boat.

7. A communication to this effect having been made to the Ameers of Sinde, they received it with strong feelings of repugnance, which led to

a lengthened negociation that was only brought to a final close by a threat of coercion, in case they refused to ratify what they had [in the course of the negociation] repeatedly and formally agreed to, both in writing and by messages.

8. A third treaty, which has been distinguished from those that preceded it by the name of the "Toll Treaty," was accordingly concluded in October 1834. Its provisions are briefly these: "That a toll of two hundred and forty rupees shall be levied on all boats, whatever may be their size, or the nature of their cargo, within the territories subject to the Sinde governments, namely, from the sea to Mithunkote; that this toll shall be levied both on boats ascending and descending the river at the point at which the merchandize is transferred to the river, from the sea-boats, and vice versa, and at no other place; that no extra demands shall on any plea or pretence be made on any boats going up or coming down the river; that goods, of whatever nature, or however small or great the quantity, landed from any boat, shall instantly become subject to the regulations of the country, as regards customs; that the toll now fixed is to be understood to be a remuneration to the governments for the protection to be afforded to merchants frequenting the route; that a native agent on the part of the British government shall reside constantly at the mouths of the river, and that the governor-general's agents for Sinde shall have the power of deputing one of his assistants to that quarter, at any time such a step seems to him to be required.

9. As soon as the toll treaty with Sinde was completed, its terms were likewise proposed to and accepted by the other two Powers [exclusive of the British government] interested in the arrangement, and the remainder of the toll was divided as follows :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Buchawul Khan of Buchawulpoor,— | | | |
| | Rs. 106 | 12 | $2\frac{11}{17}$ |
| To Runjeet Singh,..... | 67 | 15 | 0 |
| To the British Government,... | 155 | 4 | 0 |

10. In the early part of this year definitive arrangements were made and promulgated. Agreeable to them, the Governor-General's agent for the affairs of Sinde (Colonel Pottinger) has the general superintendance of the southern portion of the Indus, lying within the territories of the Ameers of Sinde ; and the political agent at Loodhiana (Captain Wade) of the remainder, north of Sinde, including the Punjnud and Sutledge, as far as Roopur. A third officer (Lieutenant Mackeson) is stationed at Mithunkote, nearly opposite to which town the Punjnud or united waters of the five rivers of the Punjab fall into the Indus, with the official designation of "British agent for the navigation of the Indus and Sutledge." Three native agents have also been appointed. Of these one is stationed at the mouths of the river, where the cargoes will be transferred from the river to the sea boats, and vice versa. A second resides at Hyderabad, and the third at Hureekee, in the Punjaub, where the Sutledge and Beeah unite.

11. Lieutenant Mackeson's range extends from Roopur to the sea, throughout the whole navigation, and from the centrical position which he occupies, his appointment is equally calculated to give confidence to the dealers, and to afford them speedy assistance and redress, in case of necessity.

12. The duties of the native agent at the mouths of the river will be best comprehended by the subjoined extracts from his instructions.

PARA. 3. "You will receive with these orders a copy of the toll treaty. From it you will perceive, that the sum of two hundred and forty rupees, of the currency of Tattah, is to be levied on all boats, without reference to their burthen, or the nature of their cargoes, proceeding up the river, or coming down, and you are accordingly to realize that sum from each boat on departing or arriving, as the case may be, and pay it over to the Ameer's agent, who may be empowered to receive it, and from whom you will invariably take receipts.

PARA. 4. "Passports are sent to you, into which you are to insert the name and burden of the boat; the name of the Tindal; her destination, and by whom she is hired. You will also obtain a list of the cargo, with its estimated value, shipped on each boat, and attach this list to the passport; but you are on no account to think of opening and examining the goods, which would cause delay and trouble to the merchants."

PARA. 5. "Disputes will of course sometimes arise amongst the merchants and their servants,

and the boatmen, coolies, &c. about the bunders. It will be part of your duty to settle these, and when subjects of the Sinde government are parties in them, you will do so in concert with the Ameer's officers, otherwise you will do it alone."

PARA. 6. Prohibits the receipt of any presents or bribes on pain of instant dismissal.

PARA. 7. "Should any occasion for a reference to the Ameers at Hyderabad arise, you are to draw up a short and plain statement of the case, and send it with a letter to the British native agent at that city, who will obtain the Ameer's answer, and transmit it to you."

PARA. 8. Directs that every boat departing on the upward voyage shall be furnished with a note to the native agent at Hyderabad, and that a report of her departure shall be made to Lieutenant Mackeson, and all orders issued by that gentleman strictly obeyed.

PARA. 11. Authorises the agent, in case of emergency, to write to the Governor-General's agent for Sinde by special messengers.

13. "The native agent at Hyderabad is directed to see that no one molests or stops any boat from the moment she quits the salt water bunders till she passes the Sinde frontier, to obtain orders from the Ameers to their officers to protect the boats passing up and down, and to allow no person to make any demand, however small, from them. He is further directed, in the event of any boat being detained (by accident or otherwise), plundered, or misused, to repair in person to the spot, to call on the Sinde officers to aid in

recovering the property, and securing the offenders in cases of plunder, and afterwards to draw up a detailed statement of the affair, and to transmit it to the Governor-General's agent for Sinde, before any direct demand shall be made on the Sinde government for payment of losses, 'though you will of course let the Ameers understand that they will be held responsible.'"

14. "The orders to the native agent at Hureekee are *mutatis mutandis* to the same purport as the above, and the share of the toll leviable on the upper division of the river (beyond Sinde) is also only payable at one station, by which every pretence for delay is obviated. It having been found, however, that boats will occasionally only pass a part of the way up or down the river, a proposal has been very recently made to the Ameers, that such boats should pay in the following proportions:—

| | |
|---|---|
| From the Sea to Hyderabad, one fourth, or . . . . . | 60 Rs. |
| From the Sea to Sehwan, one half, or . . . . . | 120 „ |
| From the Sea to Khyrpoor, Bukkur, or Shikarpoor, three-fourths, or . . . . . | 180 „ |
| From the Sea to Mithunkote, . . | 240 „ |

This scale will of course be reversed on the downward voyage. The Ameers have consented to it; and it is supposed a similar rule will be made to the northward of Sinde.

15. There is no intention of discussing in this summary the merits or demerits of the toll and other treaties; but a few remarks on the former will not be, perhaps, here misplaced, as tending to elucidate its provisions. The "average capacity" of the river boats was taken at thirty khurwars, because vessels of that size had been found by experience to be the most easily managed. Some boats were seen by the mission of 1831-32, equal to one hundred khurwars, and some were hired by it of sixty khurwars burthen; but one of these latter required more than three times the number of men of one of thirty khurwars, and they were consequently more expensive, as well as much more liable to be impeded in their progress, by sandbanks and rapids. The choice of sizes is, however, left by the treaty entirely to the hirer.

16. Every pretence for delay has been anticipated by the simple expedient of the toll being leviable, (except in the instances described in the 14th paragraph,) at the commencement or close of the voyage, and whilst the fiscal arrangements of the states, as far as their internal trade extends, are left precisely on their present footing, the object of the toll is distinctly recorded to be the price of the protection which it is understood the different governments are to afford to the traffic by the Indus. The aversion which the Ameers felt to a British officer being stationed as agent at the mouths of the river, was not to be overcome by amicable negociation, but it seems probable, that those chiefs will shortly see the absurdity and

groundlessness of their apprehensions, and will then readily come into whatever plan the British government may suggest for fostering and augmenting the trade. It may also be here remarked, that the latter power has, at any moment it pleases to exert it, the means of compelling the rulers of Sinde to conform to its wishes, and this too without a necessity for moving a single regiment, a fact of which the Ameers must now be fully aware.

17. The following extracts of notes, chiefly relating to that part of the Indus lying within Sinde, will possibly be of some interest to speculators.

" The Ameers possess altogether on the right bank of the Indus, an extent of territory in length from the sea to Mithunkote, of five hundred and fifty-two miles, as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| From the sea to Ooplanee ..... | 34 | miles. |
| Ooplanee to Tattah ..... | 29 | „ |
| Tattah to Hyderabad ..... | 72 | „ |
| Hyderabad to Sehwan ..... | 108 | „ |
| Sehwan to Bukkur ..... | 174 | „ |
| Bukkur to Mithunkote ..... | 135 | „ |

" On the left bank, the extent is 27 miles less, it being only one hundred and eight miles from Bukkur to Subzulkote, where the dominions of Buhawal Khan commence.

" The state of the banks of the river are sufficient proof of the discouragement that intercourse up and down the river labours under. They are in most places covered down to the

very edge of the water with thick jungle and trees, which render tracking not only most difficult, but now and then impossible, and the first obvious step for an enlightened government to take, would be to clear away, (which might be done at a very small expense,) a path from 20 to 50 paces broad, agreeable to the nature of the soil, along both sides of the river."

"This simple operation would remove at once one half the natural obstacles to the *upwards* navigation. The *downwards* navigation is quite independent of the state of the banks, as all that is required in it is to keep the vessels in the strongest part of the current, which is easily done by occasionally rowing, or setting a lug sail on a small mast in the forepart of the boat."

"The usual depth in the stream was from four to six fathoms, nor was it sounded in any spot where it was less than the former, whilst in some it amounted to ten and twelve; many of the very minor branches, through which boats proceed upwards to avoid the strength of the main stream, are in themselves fine rivers."

"To ascend the Indus with steam-boats, or to descend it without them, all seasons and states of the river will be found to afford the greatest facilities; but for trading vessels, *depending on the winds*, the best period to quit the sea-ports (Dharjee, Shah, Ghora, &c. Bunders) is the end of March, or early in April, when the south-westerly gales which precede the Monsoon have set in on the coast of Sinde, and appear to follow

the course of the river, at all events, as high up as Bukkur, thereby ensuring rapid progress."

"With regard to *tracking*, the months of December, January, and February, strictly speaking, are the most proper, because the river is then at its lowest; but the cold northerly winds (which often blow very violently) are so keen and cutting, that the boatmen neither can nor will work as they do when the weather is milder; and although the rising of the river, which usually commences in April, may render tracking more laborious, a boat will then make more in a day than in the winter."

"It must be clearly and explicitly understood, *that no sea boat with a valuable cargo should attempt to enter or leave the mouths of the Indus after the 15th of March*,* and it would be better to be from a month to fifteen days sooner. It is true that common boats do ply between Sinde and Kutch, even in April, with cargoes of rice, grinding stones, &c.; but many are wrecked, and the experiment is dangerous. The season for ingress and egress to the Indus depends on the backwardness or otherwise of the south-west monsoon, but it may be taken to begin between the middle and end of September in common years."

"Only two or three men belong to each river as a fixed establishment. All the trackers are hired by the trip, and fed while it lasts, an arrangement which is obviously indispensable, because,

* This, of course, alludes to boats coming from or going to sea.

for days together, the boats bring up in the evening, far from any village. This system is, however, no trouble. The necessary supply is laid in from one large town to another, and the tindal, or writer, (where there is one,) of the boat, serves out the daily rations to the whole of the crew."

"The imports and exports of Sinde are so fully stated in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, for 1830-1831, (page 227,)* that reference can be had to that publication. Perhaps, for the present day, the enumeration of articles is too extensive, but, generally speaking, is correct. The better sort of calicoes of Sinde are now quite superseded by the manufacture of Great Britain, and the celebrated loongoes (silk cloths) of Tattah are only made to order."

"Although the Ameers of Sinde evinced so much repugnance to the opening of the Indus, they have more recently proved that they are by no means blind to the advantages of encouraging traders to settle in their territories; and the system of remissions which they follow, (like every native government,) is so undefined and extensive, that it seems a matter of some doubt, whether the duties *actually* paid in Sinde, are higher than those of the surrounding countries."

*September* 27, 1835. H. P.

## No. II.

### PRACTICAL NOTES ON THE TRADE TO THE INDUS, AND THE NAVIGATION OF THAT RIVER.

By Sir Alexander Burnes.

1. A commercial communication has this year commenced on the Indus; in accordance with the treaty, boats have both begun to ascend and descend the stream. It seems desirable, therefore, to record some of the earliest information of a practical nature regarding the river, the vessels on it, and the trade itself.

2. It is imperatively necessary to adhere to the mould of the boats which are now in use on the river Indus. Science may in time improve them, but disappointment will, I believe, follow all attempts at it, till further experience is obtained. A boat with a keel is not adapted to the river Indus.

3. Though the Indus is accessible after November, the labour of tracking up against the stream is at that time great. The river is then, and for the three succeeding months, about its lowest, which prevents the boatmen from seeking the still water, and drives them to the more rapid

part of the current. The northerly winds, which blow till February, make the task more than ever irksome, and extra trackers are required. The treaty, too, encourages large boats more than small ones, the toll on both being alike, and these unwieldy vessels require many hands, which adds to the expense.

4. After February, the voyage from the sea to Hyderabad, which would previously have occupied nearly a month, may be performed in five days; the expense of trackers is avoided; the river has less dangers; and the merchant thus saves his time, labour, and interest. The swell of the Indus does not prevent vessels ascending to the Punjab, for at that time the southerly winds prevail.

5. It is these southerly winds which give to the Indus, in its navigation, advantages over the Ganges. The course of the one river is about east and west, that of the other north and south. Use must therefore be made of this natural advantage to make merchandize profitable by the route of the Indus.

6. The obstacles to navigating the Indus at its mouth are, no doubt, great, but they have been magnified. Above Calcutta, for a considerable part of the year, there is no greater depth in the rivers Bhagruttee and Jellingee, which lead from the Hoogly to the Ganges, than two and three feet. In the Indus a greater depth than this will always be found somewhere, to lead from the sea-ports to the great river. This, then, is a decided advantage in the inland navigation, though the

Indus has not a mouth accessible to large ships like the Ganges. It proves too that a portage, or even a canal, (were it possible to cut one) is unnecessary, as it must never be forgotten that the largest boats of the river draw but four feet when heavily laden.*

7. Much stress has been laid upon a place being fixed for unshipping the cargoes of the sea-going into the river-going boats. Anxiety on this point is useless, for it will vary every two or three years, and the utmost reliance may be placed on the people now in the trade. In 1831, the mouth leading to Vikkur had four fathoms of water; in 1835, it had but one and a half in most places, and in one but six feet, terminating in a flat. The estuary was also quite changed. Sea boats *can always ascend one mouth* of the Indus, and the navigators find it out without difficulty.

8. From four to five hundred sea-going boats sailed out of the port of Vikkur alone last year. They are the common boats of western India, drawing from nine to twelve feet of water, and which convey all the coasting trade of the country, valuable as it is. If traders will not place reliance upon these boats, experimental vessels for

* I shall say nothing of the kind of steamer for the Indus, farther than to express my belief that the present description of vessel is well suited. Lieut. J. Wood, of the Indian Navy, is the first officer who has ever navigated the Indus by steam, and his success merits notice, since he reached Hyderabad *without even the assistance of a local pilot*. He has turned his attention to the nature of the build of the "dondee" of Sinde, with its advantages and disadvantages. If Lieut. Wood's observations on this subject are published, they will, I think, be found useful, and prove creditable to the author.

the Indus, must, of course, be made at their own risk.

9. In the navigation upwards, after leaving the sea, a trader will experience little or no inconvenience in a boat of the country. Let him make his agreement with *the proprietor* of the boat, and avoid, if possible, engaging one of the vessels belonging to the Ameers (of which there are about forty) and which, it seems, may be had for hire. If he does so, the agreement will be better fulfilled, since the trade in Sinde, as in Egypt, will receive but little benefit by the rulers sharing in it. If this practice is ever carried to any great extent by the Ameers, it will be necessary to try and stop it. For the present, there are so few boats, that it is best to put up with it.

10. The depth of the river is, doubtless, variable—in some places great, in others less; but this is of very small consequence to flat-bottomed vessels. Sand banks are numerous, and would perplex an European navigator, but the native pilots have a good eye, and manage to avoid them. In the Delta there are also sand banks; but the streams there are much narrower and deeper, and more free from them; though I only speak comparatively. These sand banks are a marked and general feature of the Indus, and seem to be formed by back water or eddies. A dry bed of the Indus shews that they rise up without regularity, but that there is always a deep channel—though sometimes intricate—through them.

In December I descended the Indus from Hyderabad, and though then near its lowest, the

soundings in the great river were never under two fathoms, or eleven feet, and the boatmen did not always keep in the strength of the stream. While in the river we never grounded; and many heaves of the lead gave five and eight fathoms, but two, and two and a half, predominated. In the cold season, the Indus, in the Delta, shrinks into a narrow and deep channel, which disappoints a stranger who has heard of the magnitude of this river; many of the inferior branches even dry up.

The natives attribute this to cold. The evaporation is great. The channel of the Sata, which supplies most of the branches in the Delta, had this year, at the last sounding which I took, eight fathoms; but less than half that gives about its usual depth. It was about four hundred yards broad. This is a feature more favourable to navigation than otherwise; yet this branch must be entered by a circuitous channel, and is not accessible to boats from the sea, though, in the end of September last, the water out from it was fresh in a depth of seven fathoms, and a Cutch boat filled up its tanks from it.

12. It appears that there is much error abroad regarding the trade on the Indus. Enterprise will doubtless do much to *create and improve* commerce; but, for the present, it is a trade *by the Indus* and not *on the Indus*. It is, in fact, a transit trade to western and central Asia; a line, however, which ought to supersede that by Sonmeeanee to Candahar, and by Bownugger to Pallee and Upper India. If the mercantile com-

munity hope for any increased consumption of British goods *in Sinde* itself, they will be disappointed; the time may come, but, at present, the bulk of the people are miserably poor, and there are really no purchasers.

13. The Courts of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor, however, will, no doubt, take a good part of some of the investments, and both these chiefs and their families have already sued for a first sight of the goods that have reached Sinde. This might appear objectionable in another country and under other circumstances, but the treaty will protect all traders, and they need not fear imposition or oppression. A few of the Beloochee chiefs have also expressed their readiness to purchase, and the good work is in a state of progression.

14. To the exports, by way of the Indus, it is unnecessary to allude, as they have been fully spoken of, and we have now no additional particulars of a practical nature to communicate. As the price of wages is, in most if not in all countries, regulated by the price of grain, the effect of opening the river Indus on Bombay and Western India, ought to be most important. The immense advantages which the great body of the population will derive, I leave others to estimate; but I may affirm that the European community ought, by it, to be able to bring down their expenses nearly to the standard of the Bengal presidency.

ALEX. BURNES.

*Sinde, 12th December* 1835.

# No. III.

## ON THE COMMERCE OF SHIKARPOOR AND UPPER SINDE.

By Sir Alexander Burnes.

Shikarpoor is a town of first importance to the Indus trade, and, it may be said, to that of Asia. This does not arise from any superiority in its home manufactures, but from extensive money transactions, which establish a commercial connexion between it and many remote marts. Shikarpoor stands near the northern frontier of the Sinde territories, 28 miles directly west of the Indus, and about the same distance from the fort of Bukkur. Towards the North, the Sinde boundary extends to Rozan, on the road to Candahar and Kelat, by the well-known pass of Bolan, so that the merchant always speaks of Shikarpoor and Dera Ghazee Khan as the gates of Khorasan, by which name they here distinguish the kingdom of Cabool. In every direction, commercial roads conduct the trader to Shikarpoor, but the communication is entirely carried on by land, though there is but one sentiment among the merchants of the town, great and small, that their

profits and interests might be vastly promoted by water communication.

2. Shikarpoor is not a town of any antiquity, though there has always been a place of note in its neighbourhood. Alore, Shukkur Bukker, Roree, all follow each other, and the present town has succeeded Lukkee, a place 8 miles south of it, which was held by the ancestors of the present chief of Bhawulpoor, who were expelled by Nadir Shah. It appears to have been built A.D. 1617. The slope of the country favors its easy irrigation, and the Emperors of Delhi have caused extensive canals to be cut from the Indus. Shikarpoor is supplied with abundance of food, and cheaper than any part of Sinde. The obscure term of "*now Lakke Sinde*," I am informed, has reference to this part of the country, that being the amount of revenue, above Sinde proper, derived from the province called Moghullee. Natives of Shikarpoor who have seen British India, generally describe it as capable of being made "a second Bengal." Nadir Shah visited Shikarpoor in his conquest, but its vicinity to countries so much disturbed, prevented its becoming a commercial mart, till the Suddozye princes fixed their authority in it, and its prosperity may be dated from the year 1786, in the reign of Timour Shah, who first established Hindoos in the town, after he had conferred the government of Sinde on the family of the present Ameers. Shikarpoor is the only place in Sinde where that tribe have established a paramount influence, of which the Ameers have as yet had the good sense not to deprive them,

though Shikarpoor has been subject to Sinde for the last 16 years. The revenues and expenses incurred in defending it, are divided between the Hyderabad and Khyrpoor chiefs, the latter having three shares, and the former four.

3. The population of the town exceeds 35,000 souls, but it is to be remembered that there are Hindoos from it scattered all over Asia, who leave their families here, and return in after-life; the inhabitants consist of Hindoos of the Buniya, Lohana, and Bhattea tribes, but Baba Nanuck Seiks compose more than half the number. About one-tenth of the population is Mahomedan, most of whom are Afghans, who receive grants of land or "puttas" as they are called, from the name of the deed, and settled around Shikarpoor in the time of the Dooranees. The town, though surrounded by gardens and trees, is quite open; for a mud wall, which has been allowed to decay, can scarcely be called a defence. There are, however, eight gates. The bazar is extensive, having 884 different shops. It is covered with mats as a shade from the sun, but has no elegance or beauty. The houses are built of sun-dried bricks, lofty and comfortable, but destitute of elegance. The climate is considered very hot and oppressive in the summer, and there are so many stagnant pools around the walls, that it is remarkable the people do not find the place insalubrious, but it is not said to be so. The thermometer had a range of 23 degrees in the middle of April, falling to 59°, and rising to 82°; but we were informed that the season was favourable, and across the Indus

at Khyrpoor the thermometer had already stood at 96°. Water is found at 12 or 15 feet from the surface, but the river has, for three or four years past, flooded large tracts of the neighbourhood. The land revenues around, exclusive of expenses in collection, &c. now average two lacs and a half of rupees per annum, and the duties of the town and customs are farmed for 64,000 rupees, the currency being only inferior by 2 per cent. to the company's rupee. This does not, however, include the whole of the districts which were held by the Afghans, Noushera being under Ladkhana, and several rich jagheers bestowed on religious persons. The inundation having lately inclined towards Shikarpoor, has also increased its present revenues, probably to half a lac of rupees, but the addition cannot be considered permanent.

4. It will only be necessary to name the towns, at which the Shikarpoor merchants have agents, to judge of the unlimited influence which they can command. Beginning from the west, every place of note from Astracan to Calcutta seems to have a Shikarpooree; thus they are found at Muscat, Bunder Abbass, Kerman, Yezd, Meshid, Astracan, Bokhara, Samarcand, Kokan, Yarkund Koondooz, Khooloon, Herat Subzwar, Candahar, Ghuzni, Cabool, Peshawer, Dera Ghazee Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, Bukkur, Leia, Mooltanooch, Bhawulpoor, Umritser, Jeypoor, Beecaneer Jaysulmeer, Palee, Mandavee, Bombay, Hyderabad (Deccan) Hyderabad (Sinde) Curachee, Kelat, Mirzapoor, and Calcutta. The Hin-

doos of Astracan, I am informed, have lately been converted to Islam, and within these two years, those of Bokhara have been molested, for the first time, on account of their creed. In all these places, however, a bill may be negociated, and with most of them, there is a direct trade either from Shikarpoor or one of its subordinate agencies. The business seems, however, to be more of a banking nature than a commerce in goods, but still there is not any great quantity of ready money at Shikarpoor, for there is no mint at which gold or bullion may be coined, and consequently a loss ensues upon its import.

5. The direct trade of the town of Shikarpoor itself is not extensive, its port is Curachee, from which it receives annually,

| | |
|---|---|
| British goods to the value of..... | Rs. 30,000 |
| Sugar,..... | 80,000 |
| Spices, groceries, metals,..... | 100,000 |
| Total Rupees, | 210,000 |

Some of the articles reach Shikarpoor by way of Palee, in Marwar, particularly sugar and spices, but British cloth is not sent, for the line of route, from this great emporium, leads higher up the Indus to Bhawulpoor and Mooltan. The duties on this road are as follows,—on articles of bulk 6 Rs. per camel on quitting Shikarpoor, 4 Rs. on the river, 8 Rs. in the Khyrpoor territory, 6 Rs. in Jaysulmeer, making a total of 24, which is doubled, if other than groceries (Kiranu.) At

Palee itself, goods pay ad valorem from 2 to 5 per cent. The road from the sea coast is quite safe, it passes among the hills to Sehwun, and after that reaches the plain of Chandka; five or six caravans pass yearly, but 8 or 10 camels even go safely. The expenses of the road are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Landing at Curachee | 5 | Rs. per cent. |
| And at Starting | 3 | „ ditto |
| Expenses to Shewun | 2½ | „ per camel load. |
| At Shewun, duty | 24 | „ ditto |
| At Ladkhana | 7¼ | „ ditto |
| At Maree | ¼ | „ ditto |
| At Shikarpoor | 24 | „ ditto |
| Total | 58¼ | Rs. |

exclusive of the duties at Curachee. This does not include the hire of the camels, which is 8 or 9 rupees per head, if laden with cloth, and 6 or 7 with metal or sugar. The duty above given is only leviable on goods, that on sugar and articles taken in bulk is much less, and at Shewun but 11, instead of 24 rupees, and at Shikarpoor but 10 rupees instead of 24. It is very difficult to give an accurate list of these duties, for at Shewun, though the levy ought to be 32 rupees, it is compounded for at 24 rupees, by what is called a "mootta" purwaun, which, on land, is much the same kind of duty as toll by the river. Great merchants only have this advantage, and they will not trade till it is promised to them. Arriv-

ing at Shikarpoor, likewise, the levy depends much upon the value of the articles, which are taxed by weight, though a camel load of chintz may be passed through the custom-house at rupees 24, each piece of kincob will be taxed perhaps from 1 to 2 rupees. These duties are, therefore, considered oppressive and vexatious, as the bales are opened and examined. Further, if it is intended to send on goods, a second tax of eight rupees on cloth, and five rupees on spices, &c. is exacted on quitting Shikarpoor for the West. The effect of this has been to throw open the road from Candahar, by Kelat, to the sea coast at Sonmeeanee from which much of Afghanistan is now supplied, and of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak. The trade from Bombay to Shikarpoor, however, often yields a profit of 20 per cent.

6. From the north, Shikarpoor at present receives the cloth of Multan and Bhawulpoor to an extent of rupees 10,000, but these are for home consumption, and its peculiar trade is with Khorasan, by way of Candahar and Kelat; with the former it communicates, through Bag and Dadur, by the celebrated defile of Bolan, which is passable at all seasons; goods are carried on camels and ponies, and there are three or four caravans annually. The articles consist of madder and other dyes, such as koomba, saffron, cochineal; also silk thread, torquoises, dried fruits, horses, &c. &c.; which are valued at from one and a half to two lacs of rupees a year. Some of the silk thread brought to Shikarpoor is

of a very superior description, where it is used in embroidery. It comes from Toorkistan, and is called "Kokanee," and seldom sent lower down the river. Besides it, there is the "Toonee" silk from Kaeen, the "Duryaee" from Khaf, and the "Chilla" from Herat, which are used at Shikarpoor and also sent on to India. The mulberry tree thrives in upper Sinde, and yields a superior fruit, but there are no silkworms, though the climate would probably agree with them. The trade in Feerozees or torquoises is considerable. As is well known, that beautiful stone is brought from Nishapoor in Persia. It is imported here in its rough state. There are about a dozen shops where they are prepared, after which they are sent on to India. Some Feerozees reach Hindustan by way of Cabool, but the greater number are sent by Shikarpoor, where the import is so extensive, that all classes, rich and poor, have ear-rings and ornaments made from them, good or bad, of course, according to their circumstances. This trade is valued alone at rupees 50,000 per annum. The trade in horses has declined, and the supply varies. From five to eight hundred horses come down the Bolan pass yearly, chiefly from Candahar and Shawl,—the greater number, however, go to India, by way of Kelat and Curachee. Those which are brought to Shikarpoor are sent to all parts of Sinde, to Khyrpoor and Hyderabad, and sometimes to Bhawulpoor, for there is no steady demand, and no permanent mart. These horses are too well known to require any particular description,—they are in

general undersized and bull necked. In return for these articles, Shikarpoor supplies these places with native cloths, made in the manufacturing districts of Raneepoor, Gumbat, and Korra, near Khyrpoor, also at Ladkhana. The home manufactures of Shikarpoor itself do not amount to more than 50,000 rupees, of course white and red cloth, and this is consumed in the town. English goods, however, are sometimes purchased by the Afghan merchants, in exchange for their productions, if the market is well stocked—as they may have them cheap, and be saved a journey to Bombay,—but the duties prevent their taking any great quantity, so that they have indigo of Khyrpoor and Oobaro, and prepared hides from Ladkhana and the valley of the Indus, which would, in all probability, be sent down if the road were open. The profits of the trade from Candahar are rated at 40 per cent. and to it at about half that sum. The former was much greater than at present, till the Candahar Sirdars taxed the ducats and gold sent to India as merchandize, a custom, however, which is common in Toorkistan, and which, when we consider the number of merchants who deal largely in money alone throughout Asia, is not so unjust as at first sight may appear.

7. Upper Sinde has resources that have not as yet been developed, and which are even open to the notice of a superficial observer, and require but little impetus to send them forth. Cotton, which has been but little exported hitherto, and bore the value of 21 Rs. per maund, was last

year raised round Shikarpoor to the extent of 10,000 maunds of Lahore, (which is about the same as that of Shikarpoor,) and such is the profit upon it, that a small investment which was sent down the Indus to Vikkur as an experiment, and which had been purchased at from 8 to 9 rupees per maund of Vikkur, (which is considerably less than that of Shikarpoor,) sold for 15 Rs. of Tatta. It was always sent to Ullah Yar and Adum Yar, in Lower Sinde, also to Shawl, but it may now, as its cultivation encreases, be calculated upon as a regular export to Bombay. The cotton of Lower Sinde is not appreciated; this is considered better, though not of the first kind. It would not be difficult to encourage the cultivation, and perhaps treble the supply; in one sense of the word, there are two crops of cotton in Sinde. The seed is sown in April, and the harvest reaped in July; but the roots are often left in the ground, and sprouting up in the following spring, yield a second crop in May, about a month after the waters of the swell reach the fields. The first kind is called "Nairee," and the other "Moondee," which are terms merely meaning new and old. The richness of the crop depends altogether on the rise of the Indus, which is not however precarious.

8. Opium is reared at Shikarpoor, but has only been cultivated for the last six or eight years. A trial has been made of its export to Bombay; but, as there was no linseed oil, (ulsee,) except what was imported, to prepare it, the article was not approved of, and the speculation failed. *It*

*has been lately sent to Pallee* in its raw state, where its preparation is understood, and from which it is said to be exported at the same price as other opium; linseed has now been sown at Shikarpoor and thrives, so that it is possible hereafter to export it direct. It was formerly received from Marwar and Kelat. I have been informed that the Shikarpoor opium has not the same strength as that of Malwa, and the difference is said to arise from that of Sinde being irrigated, which is not the case with the poppy in Malwa(?) Last year, 100 maunds of opium were produced at Shikarpoor, the best near the village of Maree. A jureeb of ground, which is 22,500 square feet, about half an acre, yields on an average five seers of opium, the heads being tapped three successive times. In its wet state, its value is about five rupees per seer, but it has much impurity from the scraping of the poppy, &c. in its dry state its value is eight and a half rupee, and sometimes double. It is reaped in April and May, after a four months labour. If it is thought advisable to encourage this trade, it will furnish a very valuable return.

9. The indigo of the Shikarpoor district is not prized as much as that of Khyrpoor and Oobaro, east of the Indus, nor is the cultivation so extensive. A better description of indigo than either is found higher up the river, and will form subject for future notice, but at present, this dye is exported from Sinde to the Persian Gulf by Curachee, to the extent of 1,500 maunds a year, which, as it now sells, is about the value of a lac

of rupees. It varies in price from forty to sixty rupees according to the rise of the river, on which, as with cotton, the crop depends: it is now selling at fifty-seven Rs. of the best kind per maund. This year a demand for it beyond the crop, though that was productive, has arisen, and ninety camel loads of it have been brought by land from Khanpoor in the Daoodpootra country, and sent, by Jaysulmeer, to Palee. The indigo of Sinde cannot rival that of Bengal, or as it is called, "Neeli Furhung" (English indigo), having much more impurity, but it is only about half the price, and is said to have some advantages in imparting colour of a more fixed kind. It is exported to Candahar, but Khorasan derives its chief supply from Mooltan, where it is better. The supply for Arabia and Persia may very easily be drawn off by the Indus, at a great profit, with a toll so light as that which has been imposed.

10. Besides indigo, there is an article in Upper Sinde called "Sakur," used as a red dye. It is merely the knot of the tamirisk shrub, but it is not produced in all soils where that plant grows. In the district of Boordgah it is procured in great abundance, and to the extent of 1,500 or 2,000 maunds, and can be profitably exported to Marwar, Palee, and Lower Sinde. It sells here for two rupees per maund. The article is procurable near Mooltan. Koomba, or "Kussoomba," which is safflower, a plant that yields a rich dye, is also reared, but a much better kind is imported from Cabool, a seer of the one being equal to two of the other, so that they are often mixed and adul-

terated. This dye is spoken of as the second saffron.

" 11. But Upper Sinde is much favoured by the inundation of the river: for the last four years the Indus has saturated the country around Shikarpoor, by throwing off its superfluous waters from Boordgah to Ladkhana. This district was called " Wahnee," from having no water, but it is now said to yield nearly a lac of rupees annually to Government. It extends seventy or eighty miles from Ghouspoor to Ladkhana, and varies in breadth, from five to six miles: without this natural scattering of the water, it would not be an arduous task to keep the Sinde canal open for six months, at present, the town is to be approached by it for four months by the largest boats. At Shikarpoor, in April 1837, wheat was selling at fifteen rupees per khurwar, while at Hyderabad it cannot be bought at less than twenty-four, and at the mouth of the Indus it yields forty-five. This is not speculation, for it has been tried, and as the toll is leviable on bulk, all other grain may be exported from one part of the Indus to another, at a very great profit. At Shikarpoor, for instance, Juwaree sells for ten and twelve rupees per khurwar, and at the mouth of the Indus, for twenty-five and thirty, and in Bhawul Khan's country, rice does not bear a higher value than a rupee per maund, though it is of the first quality, while it sells at Shikarpoor for two and a half; but in the Delta again, this grain is very cheap, so that while it may be sent from one section of the river to another, it

would not, perhaps, prove a profitable export for the voyage. This would not, however, be the case with ghee, which, in the Oobaro, sells for eight rupees per maund, and at Shikarpoor for sixteen rupees, but though cheaper in the Delta, the export to a foreign country might be yet made with great advantage; in fact the profit of some articles would be double, and even treble their value. The oil of the Sesamum would yield a profit of 25 per cent. It sells outside Shikarpoor for $3\frac{3}{4}$ rupees per maund, and in the Delta for export, at eight and nine rupees, and the maund of Vikkur, is four-fifths that of Shikarpoor. Sugar, salt, spices, and groceries, may all at present be brought up and down the river with advantage, and a mixed cargo and grain will alike yield profit.

12. The wood of Sinde is not considered of a good quality, except in Boordgah, a district north of Shikarpoor, (where the sakur dye before described is found) and whence it has not yet been exported. I state on pretty good authority, that 800 camel loads of a superior article may be procured in the hills, but the tribe of Boordees are great robbers, and precaution is necessary in dealing with them. The immediate districts of Shikarpoor also yield small quantities of wool, but in Cachee, westward of Ladkhana among the hills, it might also be procured as well as at Deejeckot and the country east of Khyrpoor to an extent, as I am informed, of about a third of this. Jaysulmeer and Beecaneer yield very superior wool, and they are but 180 miles from the Indus, but,

as doombas or fat-tailed sheep yield the best wool, Kelat is always spoken of as the great mart for this article. The Brahooees, or people of that country, are beginning to appreciate the value of wool. Two years ago some of them took a small quantity to Bombay, which had been bought at three rupees per maund, and which realized twenty. The effect of this was the despatch of one hundred camel loads last year, with as much profit to the exporter as before, only that the Khan has now imposed a duty of two rupees on each load. In Sinde, there are few or no woollen fabrics, except coarse bags, carpets, and shalkees. It sells at twelve and fifteen seer per rupee. In Kelat itself pelisses only are made from wool. Besides Kelat, the wool countries in this neighbourhood are Shawl, Mustoong, Nulwad, and Kejmekran. That of the two last may, no doubt, be best exported from the sea-ports of Guadur and Sonmeanee, but the outlets of the other will, in course of time, be the Indus. Cabool and Toorkistan are, however, wool countries, and as there is such a demand for this article, I have no doubt it might be sent from Attock to Bombay with profit, even though it has been, in the first instance, brought from beyond Hindoo Khoosh. Besides wool, horse-hair might be imported with advantage from Sinde and Cabool, small quantities of it are now taken by horse dealers.

13. In Upper Sinde the places next in importance to Shikarpoor, are Khyrpoor, Ladkhana, and the manufacturing towns of Gumbat, Raneepoor, and Koora. Lieutenant Leech has given, in the

annexed paper, an account of these three last places, and a minute description of all the fabrics procurable in them. I also annex from Moonshee Mohun Lal, an account of the trade of Khyrpoor, giving minute particulars regarding that mart. Ladkhana has a much larger population than these three towns, having about 12,000 souls. It manufactures yearly cloth to the value of from 50 to 60,000 rupees, which is exported on camels to Kelat and Lower Sinde, but though they are sent to the Delta by a land route, a great profit is derived, since a score of white cloth, which costs twenty and twenty-one rupees, sells there at forty and forty-three rupees. Nothing from Ladkhana but government grain is now sent by the Indus. It consumes about 15,000 rupees of British goods. The Custom-house duties of its gate yield rupees 4000 a-year, and the surrounding district half a lac of rupees, as the Government share of produce. Khyrpoor is the residence of the Ameers. It receives English goods from Curachee by Ullah-yar and Adum-yar-ka-Tunda, to the extent of Rs. 25,000: from Mooltan and Bhawulpoor to the extent of 20,000: from Ranneepoor to 2 or 3000. It has no native manufactures. It is without sugar; 400 maunds of cotton are reared, and a small quantity of opium. Nitre may be had in any quantity at Sukkur. Salt is also made, and sells at rupees 15 per maund. The rock salt of Pind Dadun Khan on the Jelum, sells at the mine, after a monopoly and exorbitant exactions, at one and a half rupees per maund of Lahore,

and the Hindoos of Sinde prefer it to all other salt. At Pind Dadun, likewise, boats are to be had cheaper than any place on the Indus, and for some time, till the number on the river are increased, would become a good speculation, as one which costs three hundred rupees may be sold for seven and eight hundred at Hyderabad and the up country, boats, though sometimes preferred to those lower down, may be broken up, and built into Doondees.

14. The customs of Khyrpoor are farmed for rupees 17,000 per annum, 2000 of which are realized on the imports from Hyderabad, and 2000 from what is sent there. The Khyrpoor Ameers are said to receive 100,000 rupees by duties throughout their territories on imports and exports. The transit on goods passing the Indus, from Curachee to Khyrpoor *direct*, are as follows. Landing at Curachee ad valorem 5 per cent.

| | Rs. Koree. | |
|---|---|---|
| By Hyderabad to Adum Khan-ka-Tunda | 12 | per Camel. |
| At Kanote | 3 6 | „ |
| Kaywaree in the Nara | 3 8 | „ |
| Deejee | 2 8 | „ |
| | 21 6 | „ |

On reaching Khyrpoor, the duty is no longer levied on the camel load, but on a valuation of the articles; thus a piece of English chintz pays seven and a half annas, and if the piece be very

large, it is reckoned at three, and taxed accordingly. Mooltan chintzes pay one rupee per score, and if passed on to another place in the course of a month, nothing additional is exacted; if after that time, the tax is repeated. At this present time English goods are from 10 to 12 per cent. dearer at Khyrpoor than Hyderabad. The taxes of Khyrpoor are lighter than in any other part of Sinde. There are two villages near Khyrpoor, Tanda Mustee and Lookman, where no duties are exacted unless the goods are sold, and only a very light transit of ten annas per camel. From Khyrpoor to Subzulcote, the northern frontier of Sinde, east of the Indus, a transit (rahdaree) duty of twenty rupees per camel is levied. On the west of the river, from Shikarpoor to the Seik frontier, there has been lately no open road, on account of the lawless habits of the tribes, but as there is now little to be feared on this account, the tract, which is a good one, will come into use, particularly as a short cut between Shikarpoor and Methuncote.

15. The transits and duties leviable on the routes east and west of the Indus, to the frontiers of Sinde, have been stated. I might here note the amount of toll and duty which was levied on the river previous to the treaty, but the statement would be long, complicated, and not much to be depended on, from the many chiefs who shared in it, and the varied mode of exaction; in some places a toll, in others a duty ad valorem, according to the will of the ruler, but in all instances, after such delays, that trade had entirely disap-

peared. The last instance, and a very illustrative one it is, which I can hear of any commercial speculation being carried on before the British turned their attention to the improvement of this commerce, was that of two Hindoos, who, about twelve years ago, brought down grain to Shikarpoor, in a season of scarcity. From Methun to that town they paid about 280 rupees of duty on each boat of grain, for a section of the river where a toll of rupees sixty is now leviable, and from Methun to ——* but rupees 240! The commercial results of the downward navigation of the Indus, as far as they have yet been tried, have proved very satisfactory, so much so indeed, that for a time it will probably turn out a more profitable speculation to send down bulky goods, as sugar, &c. which can be procured higher up, *though they have previously made a long journey*, than navigate without steam from the sea. The sugar from Lodiana, brought, I believe, from Mucumpoor, yielded at Shikarpoor twenty-four rupees per maund, though its original cost had been but five rupees. This would, however, be greatly diminished if the trade from Bombay is persevered in, but, in any case, the means of supplying Khorasan with this great necessary of life, is much facilitated by this route.

16. The great advantages to be derived from the downward navigation, as now exhibited, lead me to note some practical facts concerning that subject at the period when, as it has been estab-

* Illegible.

lished beyond doubt by Lieutenant Wood's printed reports, the Indus falls to its lowest, the months of February and March. This happens to be the season at which the rice and juwaree crop of Upper Sinde is brought down to Hyderabad, and ascending the river during these months, we met about 250 vessels. They were very deeply laden, some within a few inches of the water, and drawing from three to five feet water, and one, which Lieutenant Wood measured, had the large draft of five feet six inches. Their mode of procedure was anything but satisfactory, since they made many halts, advanced but eight or ten miles a-day, and always had a pilot-boat a-head to direct their course and prevent accidents, for it was evident that if such heavily laden vessels missed the channel, and took a bank, it would be most difficult to drag them back. I pointed out these circumstances to some Shikarpoor merchants, as a disadvantageous character of the river, at all events, in February and March, since so much delay would involve loss of interest and profits in a boat having a cargo of merchandize. They, however, informed me that grain boats were always overloaded, that they had a greater object in getting safely than speedily to Hyderabad, and that they carried as much as they could, since their heavy cargoes saved other boat hire, and the grain and the boats generally belonged to government. Nursingdass, a Shikarpoor Dulal, however, produced one practical proof of this assertion, for he accompanied the Lodiana investment from Shikarpoor *in the beginning of March*, reached Hyder-

abad in six days from Shikarpoor, without accident. The vessel, however, was "Zohruk" or up country boat, with a tonnage of 60 Khirwars, and having mixed cargo, might have carried ten less than her burthen. She descended without pilot or guide, first to Hyderabad and then to the sea; the latter part of the voyage being a little more protracted, but only on account of the southerly winds.

(Signed) A. BURNES,
On a Commercial Mission to Cabool.

*Bhawulpoor, May* 6, 1837.

# No. IV.

## ON THE TRADE OF CABUL, BY Mr. CHAs. MASSON.*

Kabul, the capital city of an extensive kingdom, is not only the centre of a large internal traffic, but enjoying eminent advantages of locality, ought to possess the whole of the carrying trade between India and Turkistan. A trade has ever existed between India and Afghanistan; the latter deriving from the former a variety of commodities, foreign to the produce of its own soil, climate, and manufactures, while she has little to return beyond fruits of native growth. Afghanistan is dependent upon India for articles indispensable for the convenience of her inhabitants, and the carrying on of her few manufactures, as fine calicoes, indigo, spices, drugs, &c. Of late years, the introduction of British manufactured goods, as fine calicoes, muslins, chintzes, shawls, &c. has produced a new æra in this trade, superseding in a great measure the inferior importations as to quality from India, and the more expensive fabrics from Kashmir. The consumption of these manufactures at Kabul, although extensive and increasing, will, from causes, have a limit,

* This gentleman has been long resident in Cabul.

but to what extent they might be transmitted to the markets of Turkistan, cannot be so easily defined. At the same time that British manufactured goods have found their way to Kabul, so have also Russian, and what is singular, even British manufactured goods may be found at Kabul, which have been imported from Bokhara.

The anarchy reigning in Afghanistan for a long period, and the ambiguous political relations of the several petty governments, at the present time established in it, have not been favourable to the prosecution of its commerce; yet it would appear, that during the last few years, the trade of Kabul has considerably increased,—the custom-house of Kabul, under the Suddozie princes, being farmed for only 25,000 rupees per annum, and that of Ghanzi for only 7,000 rupees per annum, whereas the last year (1834) the former was farmed for one lack and 40,000 rupees, and the latter for 80,000 rupees,—while the duties levied are at the same rate, viz. a chahalek or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*. With respect to the value of the trade of Kabul, it may be observed, that there are six points within its territories where duties on merchandize are levied, viz. Kabul, Ghazni, Bamian, Charreekar, Loghur, and Jalalabad. The transit duties at these several places in 1834 were farmed as follows:—

*Kabul.*

140,000×40 = 5,600,000÷12 Rs. per £466,666+

*Ghazni.*

80,000 × 40=3,200,000÷12.....266,666+

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Bamian.* | |
| 50,000 × 40 | =2,000,000÷12 Rs. per | £166,666+ |
| | *Charreekar.* | |
| 10,000 × 40 | = 400,000÷12..... | 33,333+ |
| | *Loghur.* | |
| 6,000 × 40 | = 240,000÷12..... | 20,000 |
| | *Jalalabad.* | |
| 12,000 × 40 | = 480,000÷12..... | 40,000 |
| 298,000 | Total amount of duties. Value of Merchandize | £993,331 |

This table only correctly shews the amount of benefit to the state derived from direct duties on merchandize, as duties are levied on the same goods frequently at two places, as at Ghazni and Kabul, &c.; yet when it is considered that the farmers of them reap, or expect to reap a profit, and that smuggling to a very great extent prevails, while there is a constant evasion of payment of duty through favour, power, or other circumstances, the calculation that the trade of Kabul with her neighbours may be of the value of one million sterling, is likely to fall short of rather than to exceed the truth. Of this sum, 200,000*l.* will be the value of its trade with Turkistan.

The opening of the navigation of the Indus, and the establishment of British factories at Mithankot, cannot fail to have a salutary effect in increasing the extent and facility of commercial transactions between India and Kabul, and of inducing a much larger consumption of British manufactured goods both in Kabul and Turkis-

tan. Perhaps no spot could have been selected for a mart on the Indus, offering equal advantage with Mithankot, being at once the key to the rivers of the Punjab, and the point nearly at which the merchandize of India is at the present day transmitted to Afghanistan by the medium of the Lohani merchants. It was no trivial point gained, that by the selection, a great portion of the extended trade will be confined to them, as the limited trade is now. Independently of the wisdom of causing no unnecessary innovation in the established usages and practices of a people, the commercial Lohani tribes may be expected to lend every assistance to measures which decrease their labours and lengthened journeys, and increase, consequently, their gains. They have long engrossed the trade between Kabul and Multan, and the monopoly was and is due to their integrity, valour, and industry. No other men could travel even in kuffilas from Kabul to Darband. The Lohanis pass *vi et armis*, and as they pay no duties on the road, and the camels (the beasts of burthen employed) are their own property, no other traders can afford to bring or carry merchandize at so cheap a rate, and they have, therefore, no competitors in the markets they frequent able to undersell them. Moreover, at Kabul and Ghazni, on account of being Afghans, and in conformity to ancient right or indulgence, they pay duties on a lower scale than other individuals. But the Lohanis, a patient and persevering class of men, accustomed to a regular routine of trade, are, from their habits, little

likely to embark in any new speculations, unless encouraged and invited to do so. Their caution, and perhaps apathy, cause them to form their investments of such goods as they now will sell, and by no means of such as may sell, seeming to prefer a certain but small profit, to a larger but doubtful one. These reasons, I apprehend, account for the non-appearance of very many articles of British and Indian produce and manufactures in the Kabul market, while many articles are found there brought from Russia, via Bokhara, which might be procured better in quality, and cheaper in price from India.

In proportion to the extent and variety in the assortment of goods at Mithankot will, of course, be the facility of introducing and disposing of them. At Qandahar, whose commerce is very short of that of Kabul, but whose merchants generally proceed to Bombay, where there is no want of allurement to purchase from deficiency in the abundance, variety, and display of goods, there are an infinity of articles to be found, which are in vain sought for at Kabul. Of the commodities of India and manufactures of Britain, which would find sale in Afghanistan and Turkistan, the former are well known, and would remain as at present, the demand being only increased, as spices, indigo, muslins, fine sugar, drugs, &c. were diminished in price by the additional facilities which would be given to commerce, but of the latter, a great variety of new articles might be introduced,—chintzes, fine calicoes, muslins, shawls, &c. of British manufacture, have now be-

come fashionable ; and investments of broad cloth, velvet, paper, cutlery, china-ware, gold and silver lace, gold thread, buttons, needles, sewing silks and cotton-thread, iron-bars, copper, tin, brass, and quicksilver, iron and steel wire, looking-glasses, with a multitude of various little articles conducive to comfort and convenience, would be readily disposed of. It is singular that not a sheet of English manufactured writing paper can be found in the bazaar of Kabul, while Russian foolscap, of coarse inferior quality, abounds, and is generally employed in the public departments.

It may not be improper to enumerate some of the articles which form the bulk of the exports from Russia to Bokhara, specifying such thereof as find their way to Kabul. The exact amount of the Russian exports to Bokhara, if an object to be ascertained, can be found by reference to the *Petersburgh Gazettes*, if accessible, in which they are printed.

*Manufactured Goods, &c.*

Broad cloth re-exported to Kabul in large quantities.
Fine linens and calicoes.
Silk goods re-exported to Kabul in large quantities.
Velvets ditto.
Chintzes, rarely to Kabul.
Sewing thread and silk.
Gold and silver lace re-exported to Kabul.
Gold and silver thread re-exported to Kabul.

Needles re-exported to Kabul.
Steel and copper wire re-exported to Kabul.
Leather of Bulgar re-exported to Kabul.
Paper re-exported to Kabul.
Chinaware rarely to Kabul.
Glassware.
Cutlery.
Loaf sugar very rarely.
Iron in bars.
Steel in bars.
Tin in plates.
Copper in plates re-exported to Kabul.
Brass re-exported to Kabul.
Quicksilver re-exported to Kabul.
Cochineal re-exported to Kabul.
Tea re-exported to Kabul.
Honey.
Wax, white and yellow.

In glancing over this imperfect list, it will be obvious that many of the articles of Russian manufacture most largely imported to Kabul, via Bokhara, ought to be superseded by similar ones from Bombay. From Orenburg, the point whence traffic between Russia and Bokhara is principally conducted, there are sixty-two camel or kafla marches, and from Bokhara to Kabul thirty-five camel or kafla marches, being a total of ninety-seven camel or kafla marches, independent of halts. In the distance travelled duties are levied at Khiva, Bokhara, Balkh, Muzzar, Khulam, Hybuk, Qunduz, Kahmerd, Sohghan, Bamian, and Kabul. That the supplies from Bombay to

Kabul have been hitherto inadequate for the wants of the markets, is in a great measure owing to the sluggishness of the Afghan merchants; that they will cease to be so, may be hoped from the opening of the navigation of the Indus, and the conversion of Mithankot into a mart, which will bid fair to become a second Bombay for the merchants of these countries.

Broad cloth, largely exported from Bokhara, is a regular article of consumption at Kabul, being used for the chupkins, kabahs, sinabunds, &c. of the opulent, as coverings to the holster pipes of the military, and as jackets for the disciplined troops; dark colours are generally preferred, but blue, scarlet, and drab, are also in vogue, and fine and coarse qualities are alike saleable.

In fine linens and calicoes, the Russian fabrics are unable to contend with British manufactures at Kabul, either in quality or price, and some of the latter even find their way to Bokhara. Russian chintzes are esteemed more durable than British, as being of coarser texture, but with less elegant or fast colours, and, although occasionally brought to Kabul, afford no profit to induce farther speculations.

Silk goods, which are brought to Kabul from Bokhara, of Russian manufacture, and in large quantities, would appear to have every chance of being superseded by better and cheaper importations from Mithankot, or even Bombay, where certainly the fabrics of Bengal and China, if not England, must be abundant. Amongst a variety of modes in which silk goods are consumed at

Kabul, permanent ones are in the under garments of both male and female inhabitants who can afford it. The colours most prized are red, blue, and yellow. Silk Handkerchiefs, of various colours, and even black ones, would probably meet a ready sale, as would some articles of silk hosiery, as socks, and even stockings. Silk gloves, lace, ribbands, &c. might not be expected to sell, there being no use or idea of them. Kabul has its own silk manufactures, introduced some twenty-five years since by artizans from Harat, under the patronage of Shah Mahmud: at present there are eighty-eight looms in employment, each of which pays an annual tax to the state of twenty-three rupees; the articles manufactured are plain silks called kanavaiz, red, yellow, and purple; Durahee, of slighter texture, less width, and of the same colours; suja khannee, of large and small width, a red ground, with perpendicular white lines; dushmals, or handkerchiefs, black and red with white spots, bound by females around their heads; and loonghees hummama, or for the bath. Raw and thrown silks are imported from Bokhara, Qandahar, and Harat, and raw silk is procured from Tazhow, the districts of the Sufaid Koh, Koh, Daman, and the neighbourhood of Kabul: the thrown silk of Harat is preferred to that of Bokhara, and the latter to that of Qandahar, while silk thrown at Kabul, from native produce, is preferred to all of them.

Velvets and satins, of Russian manufacture, are brought from Bokhara to Kabul, where there is a small but regular consumption; velvets being

employed sometimes for kabahs, and to cover saddles, &c. This year the battalion soldiers were furnished with caps of velvet, all of Russian fabric. For kabahs, black velvet is in most request, but red and green are also used. Satins are employed sometimes to form articles of dress, most frequently as facings and trimmings.

Sewing threads and silks, I should suppose, would be as saleable at Kabul as at Bokhara, but I have never observed any of European manufacture here. They are brought from Bombay to Hyderabad, and may be seen in the shops there.

Gold and silver lace is brought from Bokhara to Kabul, of Russian manufacture, in large quantities; they are also brought from India, both of Indian and British manufacture. The quantity brought from Bokhara exceeds that brought from India.

Steel and copper wire very largely exported from Russia to Bokhara, is introduced at Kabul. I am not aware of the uses or extent of consumption of these articles, but the former, I believe, is used for musical instruments. Leather, churn of Bulgar, is brought from Bokhara to Kabul, of Russian preparation, and in large quantities, being consumed in the construction of military and riding coats, horse-furniture, and mattarrahs, or flaskets for holding water, which every horseman considers a necessary part of his equipments. Leather is also largely prepared at Kabul, and hides are imported from Bajore, Preshawur, &c. Paper, of Russian fabric, is brought from Bokhara to Kabul in very large quantities, and is much in

demand. It is of foolscap size, and of stout inferior quality, and both white and blue in colour, as well as both glazed and unglazed. The blue glazed paper is preferred, unglazed paper being even submitted to the operation of glazing at Kabul. Quantities of Russian paper, both glazed and unglazed, are annually exported from Kabul to Qandahar; at the latter place is also found ordinary white foolscap, (perhaps brought from Bombay), but which, from the water marks, would appear to be of Portuguese fabric; the same article is also plentiful at Hyderabad, and may perhaps be manufactured at Damaun. Paper for the Kabul market should be stout, to allow facility of erasure, and on this account, and with reference to the nature of the ink employed, glazed paper is most prized, which is prepared by saturating the unglazed fabric in a composition of starch, and subsequently polishing it. No duty is paid on paper at Kabul.

Chinaware is sometimes exported from Bokhara to Kabul, but generally of ordinary Chinese fabric. It is also in a certain demand, which is likely to increase, from the growing habit of tea drinking, &c. Articles of British chinaware are occasionally seen, but they have been brought (probably from Bombay) rather as presents than as objects for sale. In the same manner, tea-trays and other conveniences are found. Chinaware, stoneware, and even the superior kinds of earthenware, would no doubt find a sale at Kabul, if the charges on their transmission from Bombay or Mithankot would allow of the speculation, but the

articles should be of a solid nature, and fitted for the uses of the purchasers, as plates, dishes, basins, bowls, tea-pots, tea-cups, jugs, &c. chinaware, as well as being in quest for use, is employed for ornament and display, every room in a respectable house having its shelves furnished with sets of basins, bowls, &c. &c. and these are generally of the coarse fabric of Kabul. Chinaware being scarce, and too high in price. The earthenware of Kabul manufacture is very indifferent, although the country abounds with excellent materials.

Glassware exported from Russia to Bokhara is not brought to Kabul for sale, nor is any of British manufacture to be found, although many articles applicable to ordinary and useful purposes would probably sell. To Hyderabad, imports from Bombay are in a greater or less degree made, and glass decanters, with drinking glasses, are common in the shops. During the last five or six years, attempts have been made, generally by Persians, to establish a glass manufactory at Kabul, but the success has not been complete in a profitable point of view. The articles fabricated are bottles, drinking glasses, &c. the glass made is slight, and not very clear, but, upon the whole, of tolerable quality.

Cutlery of Russian manufacture exported to Bokhara is rarely brought to Kabul, nor has English cutlery ever been a subject of trade there. Hyderabad and also Qandahar derive many articles of cutlery from Bombay, as razors, scissors, clasp knives, &c. which would no doubt as readily sell at Kabul. These are manufactured at Kabul

of inferior kinds; and of more esteemed quality at Chahar Bagh of Lughman, but they are still indifferent articles.

Loaf sugar, largely imported from Russia to Bokhara, is rarely brought to Kabul; there are manufactories of a coarse article prepared from the finer raw sugars imported from India, from which also sugar candies are prepared. In the districts west of Jalalabad, as Chahar Bagh and Balla Bagh, the sugar-cane is extensively cultivated, and the products in sugar and goor to a large amount are disposed of at Kabul; but whether from circumstances of soil, climate, cultivation, or preparation, (more probably the latter), both the cane and its produce are inferior articles. Sugars also find their way to Kabul from Peshawur, where the plant thrives better, or is cultivated with more attention, and the products consequently are of a richer and finer grain than those of Jalalabad. The sugars of India are exported from Kabul to Bokhara to a limited extent; but no British loaf sugar has ever arrived at Kabul, and the experiment remains untried, whether it might be profitably carried to Bokhara, or be able to compete with that of Russian manufacture at that city, where, from the universal habit of tea drinking, it is in general demand and consumption. The chances are in its favor, but certainly were the communications as they might and ought to be, between India and Kabul and Turkistan, the latter, or at least her provinces south of the Oxus, ought not to be dependant for saccharine products on Russia.

Iron in bars, largely exported from Russia to Bokhara, does not find its way to Kabul, nor does iron of British produce, although exported from Bombay to Kalat of Bilochistan and Qandahar. Kabul derives its iron from the mines of Bajore, and re-exports it to Turkistan, generally in the form of horse-shoes; large quantities of which are annually sent over the Hindu Hosh mountains from Charreekar of Kohistan. Iron is not abundant at Kabul, and high priced, one and a half seer of unwrought iron selling for the current rupee, and for the same sum half the quantity (three charruks) of wrought irons.

Steel of Russian fabric exported to Bokhara is not introduced at Kabul, which, independently of her own manufacture, derives supplies of Indian steel via Peshawr and Multan, and British steel from Bombay via Qandahar.

Tin plates, or white iron, is largely brought to Bokhara from Russia, but not re-exported thence to Kabul. This article is exported from Bombay to Qandahar, where there are several dokans or shops of whitesmiths.

Copper in plates and bars, very extensively exported from Russia to Bokhara, is also largely exported from the latter place to Kabul, where there is a constant and important consumption of it, for the ordinary household utensils of the inhabitants, for the copper coinage of the government, and for other various purposes. Copper from Bombay is largely introduced into Sindh, Bilochistan, and more to Qandahar. Whether it might be profitably brought to Kabul will be best

determined by the prices obtained for it there. New unwrought copper is retailed for eight rupees the seer Kabul; wrought or fashioned into vessels eleven rupees Kahum; broken copper purchased by the mint at seven rupees the seer. Notwithstanding the existence of copper in many of the mountains of Afghanistan and Bilochistan, there is not a single mine worked in them, or indeed in any region between the Indus and the Euphrates, the Persians deriving their copper via Erzerum from Asia Minor, the Uzbeks, and partially the Afghans from Russia, while Qandahar and the maritime provinces of Sindh and Bilochistan are supplied from Bombay.

Brass exported from Russia to Bokhara is sparingly introduced into Kabul, where there is a limited but constant consumption of it in the ornaments of horse furniture, military arms, and equipments, bells for the necks of camels, pestles, mortars, &c. &c.; occasionally for the casting of guns. Brass utensils are little used by Mohammedans, but largely by Hindus, and these are brought prepared to Kabul from the Panjab.

Quicksilver is exported from Russia to Bokhara, and thence to Kabul, and is employed to plate looking-glasses, in medicines, &c.; its consumption is but limited, and it is also brought from India.

Cochineal exported from Russia to Bokhara is brought thence to Kabul, where its consumption is by the silk-dyers. It sells for seventy rupees Kahum the maund tabrizee, or two and a half churruks of Kabul.

Tea is exported largely from Russia to Bok-

hara, of a kind called there "Khoosh booee;" this is rarely brought to Kabul, but large quantities of ordinary kinds of black and green tea are brought there from Bokhara, which seem to be imported from China via Khokan and Yargand. A superior kind of tea called "Bankah" is sometimes to be procured at Kabul, but not as an article for sale. The consumption of tea will, in process of time, be very considerable at Kabul, the habit of drinking it being a growing one. At Qandahar it does not prevail, and tea, I believe, is seldom or ever carried there for sale. As a beverage, it is also nearly unknown in Bilochistan and Sindh. It is considered cheap at Kabul at six rupees the charruk, or one-fourth of a seer.

Honey and wax exported largely from Russia to Bokhara are not introduced to Kabul, which is plentifully supplied with excellent qualities of these articles from its native hills, as those of Bungush, Khonur, and the Sufaid Koh range.

The trade between Russia and Bokhara yields to the Government of the latter a yearly revenue of forty thousand tillahs, collected from the Kafilas passing to and fro. As khiraj or duty is levied at the rate of two and a half per cent. ad valorem, the whole amount of the trade will not be less than 1,600,000 tillahs, or about 12,500,000 rupees—a large excess to the amount of trade between Kabul and Bokhara, which would seem to be about 2,500,000 rupees.

The merchants of Kabul have many of them commercial transactions with Russia itself, and

their agents or gomashtahs are resident at Orenberg and Astrakan, while their intercourse with India seems to exist rather from necessity than choice. The season for the traffic of Kabul inclining towards Russia, for articles of European fabric, may perhaps be discovered in the remoteness from it of any great mart for British manufactures. Bombay, until lately the nearest, being to be reached by sea, if via Karachi Bunder, or through countries unknown even by name here, if by a land route from Hyderabad. Sea voyages are generally much dreaded, and a journey to Bombay is seldom performed by an inhabitant of Kabul, unless as a consequence of one of the last and most desperate acts of his life, the pilgrimage to Mecca. It may also in part be ascribed to the comparative facility and safety of the communications between Kabul and Bokhara, which, excepting one or two points, are tolerably secure, while the rulers of the intermediate regions are content to levy moderate Badj or duty upon merchandize; the Governments of Bokhara being in this respect singularly lenient and liberal. The routes between Kabul and India are, with the exception of the dreary and desolate one of the Gomul, impracticable to any Kafla of whatever strength, and this can only be travelled by the Lohanis, who are soldiers as well as merchants. But these being also a pastoral community, for the convenience of their flocks, make but one visit to India during the year, and the route is closed except at the periods of their passage and return. The Lohani, born and nurtured in the wilderness,

and inured from infancy to hardship and danger, will encounter, from custom, the difficulties of the Gomul route; but the merchant of Kabul shrinks from them, and the route is likely ever to be monopolized by the Lohanis, and never to become a general one for the merchants of Kabul. The intercourse between Kabul and India would be exceedingly promoted by opening the anciently existing high road from Kabul to Multan, &c., via Bungush and Bannu. This route is very considerably shorter, leads chiefly through a level, fertile, and populous country, is practicable at all seasons of the year, and no doubt could be rendered safe, were the governments on the Indus and of Kabul to co-operate.

The traders of Russia appear very accurately to study the wants and convenience of the people with whom they traffic, and to adapt their exports accordingly. The last year, (1834,) a species of Russian chintz was brought as an experiment from Bokhara to Kabul. It was of an extraordinary breadth, and of a novel pattern, and was sold for three rupees the yard: in like manner was brought Nankah, or linen stamped with chintz patterns, and the readiness with which these articles were disposed of, will probably induce larger exports. The last article is one calculated to supplant the present large importations of British chintzes or stamped calicos. The advantage of superior machinery enabled the skilful and enterprising artisans of Great Britain to effect a memorable revolution in the commerce of Asia, and their white cottons and printed calicos have nearly driven

from its markets the humbler manufactures of India. Slight cotton fabrics are, of course, eminently calculated for so sultry a climate as that of India; but less so perhaps for one so variable in temperature as that of Afghanistan. Its inhabitants, while from necessity they clothe themselves in calicos, will naturally prefer the better fabrics of Britain; but if they were offered linens of equally fine web and beauty of printed patterns, there can be no doubt which would be selected. It is not improbable, but that sooner or later, manufactures of flax and hemp will in some measure supersede those of cotton for general use in Afghanistan.

I shall close these remarks, which principally turn on the trade between Russia and Kabul, via Bokhara, by observing that the Russian merchants so nicely study the wants and even disposition of the people with whom they traffic, that multitudes of the inhabitants of Kabul are to be seen with Chupans of Nankah on their backs, actually got up and sewn at Orenberg—while all the shops in the city may be searched in vain for a single button of British, or indeed any other manufacture, when one, two, three, or more are required for the dress of every individual, as substitutes for which they are compelled to use thread simply twisted into a spherical shape.

(A true copy.)

W. H. Macnaghten,
Sec. to the Gov. of India.

# No. V.

## ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE TRADE ON THE INDUS.

By George Adam, Esq. Merchant in London.

From the conclusion of the negotiations under Colonel Pottinger, which ended in the opening of the Indus, little was done towards the introduction of British trade on that river, until towards the end of 1835. At this period the Bombay Government despatched Lieutenants Carless and Wood, of the Indian Navy, to survey the mouths of the river, and the result was, an accurate chart, together with a report, on the subject, which established two important facts, viz :—1st, That the mouths of the Indus were liable to constant changes, and to such a degree, that while one or more of them was often blocked up by the inundation of a single season, another and totally different one was formed by the same means. 2d, That boats drawing more than four feet of water could not be used with advantage or safety

on the river, during the first sixty miles of its course from the sea.

By a statement of Colonel Pottinger's, it appears that boats of all sizes are to pay a certain toll, without reference to size, for the right of navigation. For the whole distance from Roopur on the Sutledge to the sea, his impost amounts to 570 Tatta rupees per boat; while, for the intermediate distances, a proportional reduction is made. Goods on being landed on the banks of the river, become subject to the customs' duties of the local government.

European Officers, with subordinate native agents, have also been stationed at various points on the river, to superintend its trade, and to take cognizance of any complaints which the parties engaged in it may have occasion to make.

For the purpose of affording data as to the nature of the trade with central Asia, (for which the Indus is the natural channel), the supreme government has published a paper on the subject by a Mr. Masson, who has long been resident in Caubul. This is dated the 16th November 1835, and, amongst other important facts, proves, that a large and growing trade exists at present between India and Affghanistan, composed, in a great measure, of British manufactured goods. The whole trade of Caubul, Mr. Masson estimates at the value of £993,331.

Towards the end of 1835, some disputes having arisen between the Ameers and the British Government, Sir Alexander Burnes was despatched to Sinde to settle them; and after ac-

complishing the object of his mission, published some "Practical Notes on the Trade and Navigation of the Indus," which furnish a good deal of valuable information on the subject.

At the same time, a wealthy native merchant of Bombay was induced to purchase a small steamer, and despatch her to the Indus, with a consignment of goods. The vessel, which was ill adapted for the purpose, encountered numerous obstacles on her passage up to Hyderabad, arising from the rapidity of the current, to overcome which, her small engine (ten horse power) was by no means sufficient. The goods by her, at the same time, were unsuited to the very limited market of Sinde; and the whole speculation turned out a failure. It is not, however, for the small, poor, and wretchedly governed territory of Sinde that the navigation of the Indus is desirable, but for the countries beyond; so that the result of this first experiment on the river is of little or no consequence, and, indeed, proves nothing with regard to the trade with central Asia, for which the Indus is principally required.

On the 9th of February 1836, letters were received from Lieut. Wood, one of the officers above mentioned, communicating the result of his survey of the Indus, from the sea to Hyderabad, in the following words:—

"I have but two days returned from my fifth examination of the Indus, between Hyderabad and the sea; and though many of the difficulties that beset us in the little steamer have disappeared with a more minute acquaintance with the

stream, still the Indus is a most foul and perplexing river.

" Most of the difficulties we encountered in our first ascent, are to be attributed to the vessel. With a more powerful steamer, able to propel against the strength of the stream, it would have been different.

" With regard to the Indus, a vessel requiring nine, or perhaps twelve feet water, if once over the entrance, and upon the river, could reach Hyderabad, where the river is at its lowest. Everywhere I have taken sectional soundings I invariably found in some part of the line, two and a half or two fathoms; but though I found this depth, I would not say that the Indus is navigable at all times to a vessel whose draft is equal to the above, as it might lead to disappointment.

" Many of the officers who have been in Sinde, speak of the river as a mile wide, but they could not have measured it, as my own eyes and actual measurement soon told me. This loose way of estimating distances has given rise to expectations which the reality does not bear out. But Dr. Heddle and I can attest the fidelity with which Sir A. Burnes has delineated the river in his map. At Tatta he makes it 670 yards, I made it 660; but I think he overrates the quantity of water discharged; however, this of course varies at different seasons of the year."

These, and other reports, which reached England regarding the Indus, appear to have led to a project for navigating that river by steam-

vessels. At all events, a prospectus for a company with that object in view, was published in April 1836, and attracted considerable attention, both in India and England, in the latter of which countries the manufacturers, and numerous wealthy individuals connected with commerce, expressed themselves desirous of supporting it. The attention of the Indian government was also attracted by the prospectus, and the greatest desire was shown by it, and its subordinate officers, to support and encourage the undertaking.

In a letter upon this subject, Sir Alexander Burnes states, "I may now assure you, that no man is more disposed to advance your views regarding a commerce on the Indus, than the present governor-general; and one cannot but be delighted with the hearty goodwill that his lordship has exhibited throughout towards your project. I shall only add, that I shall be delighted at all times, and in all ways, to aid you; and if the scheme does not succeed, it shall not be for the want of my putting a willing shoulder to the wheel."

"I may be considered a person who is not disinterested; but I have no hesitation in saying, that in the end, this affair must succeed. There are articles even now on the Indus, in which a trade could be profitably carried on, and is beginning to be so. One great thing is, that the Government has taken the line under its protection. Runjeet Sing, it is true, wanted to unsettle Sinde, but we would not let him; and now he

has promised to aid us in our commercial views to the utmost of his power."

The project for navigating the Indus has, however, owing to the commercial crisis which has lately taken place in England, been suspended for the present.

In the meanwhile, the opening afforded by the river for commercial enterprise, is becoming more and more tempting every day. The importance of extending our political and commercial relations with the tribes and states north of the Indus, as far as Caubul and Bokhara, seems to be fully recognised by the government of India; and one of their last acts has been to despatch a mission, under Sir A. Burnes, for the purpose of entering into commercial treaties with the rulers of the countries in question. This officer, at the same time, has had placed under his command engineer and other officers, for the purpose of effecting a scientific survey of the countries he is to pass through, and the government of India have determined upon procuring a perfect survey and map of the Indus, throughout the whole course of its navigation.

It may be as well to add on this occasion, that one of the objects of Sir A. Burnes' mission is to ascertain the practicability of establishing large fairs, like those of Leipsic and Novogorod, on the banks of the Indus, for the purpose of securing to British enterprise a portion of the large and valuable commerce of central Asia, which is now carried on almost exclusively with the latter mart. The position of Mithunkot, on the Indus,

is deemed peculiarly favourable for this purpose, as it is only about half as far as Novogorod from Bokhara, through which a large portion of the traders from Cashgar, and the southern and south-eastern portions of Asia, pass to the former place. The project, too, seems feasible enough in other respects; as assemblages, such as are proposed, accord with Asiatic habits of commercial dealing.

As yet, it must be confessed, the Indus has been turned to much less account than might have been anticipated. However, it has recently been made the channel to some extent of a valuable commerce in wool, which has been opened within the last year or two with the Belochee and Affghan tribes, and has extended as far even as the eastern portion of the Persian province of Korasan. The exports to Great Britain of this article from Bombay, which are principally derived from the sources mentioned, commenced in 1833, and have increased in the following rapid manner:—

| | Bales. | Cwts. |
|---|---|---|
| 1833 | 106 | 303 |
| 1834 | 439 | 1,719 |
| 1835 | 2,290 | 6,363 |
| 1836 | 5,125 | 14,645 |

How much further this important trade may be carried, we have no very precise means of ascertaining; but as it is still in its infancy, and as the flocks of sheep possessed by the Nomad and other tribes of Asia are exceedingly numerous, and the expense of transit, by means of ca-

mels, trifling, there is reason to believe that an almost unlimited supply of wool, if required, may be obtained from amongst them, and at a comparatively trifling price, as the article, from its superabundance, is said to possess little or no value until sought after by foreign traders.

The demand for British piece goods appears, on the other hand, to be limited only by the means of payment throughout all the countries north of the Indus. Captain Wade, the political agent at Loodianah, has recently taken the trouble to ascertain the prices of the principal articles in question, sold in the markets of Caubul and Bokhara. The following is an extract of a letter from him on the subject:—

"With the exception of some few articles, I found that we enjoyed a decided advantage in the sale of every description of piece goods at Bokhara over the Russians; and consequently at Caubul.

"If we could afford to undersell them under all the expenses and delays of an overland route, which will be at least half abridged by the opening of the Indus, the advantageous prospects that are held out to our merchants who may engage in the navigation of that river, seem to me to be far from chimerical; unless, indeed, the recent establishment of a Russian port at Mangaslak should have placed the commercial relations of Russia with Turkestan on an improved footing, which I have no reason at present to suppose."

The prices current of British goods forwarded by this gentleman, together with a book of samples,

prove that most articles of that description which are sold in Bokhara and Caubul, including muslins, calicoes, cambrics, shirtings, broad cloths, flannels, and silks and satins, bring in the former 90, and in the latter 40 per cent. more than in the market of Calcutta.

Captain Wade also communicates the discovery of a bed of coal on the banks of one of the principal tributaries of the Indus, in the following extract of a letter, dated the 15th of October 1836:—

"You will be glad to hear that a coal mine has been discovered on the hills on the banks of the Sutledge. Reports had reached me of the existence of the mineral in these hills; and the fact has since been established beyond a doubt, by the transmission of several baskets of coals thence as a specimen. Of its quality I cannot speak positively: it appears to contain a good deal of carbonic matter, emits a disagreeable odour in burning, and requires a considerable degree of heat to ignite."

Hence it appears that scarcely any thing is now wanting to render the Indus the channel of an enormous trade: situated more advantageously than any other stream for becoming the commercial outlet and inlet to the vast and populous territories on the north and west of the Himaliaya mountains, as well as a large tract south of that chain, all it has required to become available for that purpose has been the protection and superintendence of a good government. These are now afforded; and political events clearly point out

the stream as likely to become at an early day the advanced post, if not the boundary, of British power in India. The time, therefore, has surely arrived, when a moderate outlay of capital may be staked with advantage, to introduce steam navigation upon such an admirable field, and thus open central Asia more completely to British trade, and enable our manufacturers and merchants to compete throughout that vast tract of country with their rivals the Russians.

All that is required for this purpose at present is a single steam-boat of moderate dimensions, to be employed experimentally, either as a tug or cargo boat; and the first price of such a vessel, it appears by a recent estimate, would be about 4,000*l.* From 5,000*l.* to 6,000*l.*, therefore would secure the object in view, and even if devoted without any prospect of return, does not seem too much to promote a great national object.

# No. VI.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE SINDE TRIBES OF SUMRAH AND SAMMAH, DRAWN UP FOR THE AUTHOR BY HIS FRIEND JAMES BIRD, Esq. F.R.G.S. 1838.—Bombay.

"Two Persian accounts of these tribes are in my possession, one of which was drawn up for the late Captain M'Murdo, by Sundass, son of Dewan Muta Mul, and the other is in Mir Maasum's History of Sinde. Both agree in stating that the Sumrahs were originally Mahommedans, descended from Aboulahil, the uncle of the prophet Mahomed; and that one of the tribe, who, in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, obtained power in Sinde, married into the family of Sammah, and had a son named Bhaonagar. The chief who had been thus placed at the head of the tribe, was named Hallah, the son of Chotah, a descendant of Omar Sumrah, first of the family mentioned in their history. Cotemporary with Chotah was his brother, Deva Rai, sometimes called Dilu Rai, the ruler of Alore, who, being guilty of infidelity, caused, it is said, the destruction of this city.

The son born to Hallah Sumrah, by the daughter of the Sammah family, had for his descendants, Dodah, Singhar, Hanif, and others; who appear to have originally possessed the Dangah pergunnah, in the Registan, or sandy desert, from whence they extended themselves into the pergunnahs of Thurr, Sammawati, Rupah, and Nasirpur.

The history of the tribe, and their origin, is involved in much obscurity; and, except the statement of their descent from the family of the prophet, there is nothing satisfactory regarding them, to be found in any Indian author. They derive their name, as before-mentioned, from the city of Saumrah on the Tigris; and appear to have sprung from the followers of Tamin Ansari, mixed with the Arab tribes of Tamin and Kureish; who were introduced into the country as early as A.D. 712, when Mahommed Kasim, one of the vassals of Katiba, Lieutenant-Governor of Khorasan, under Hijaj-bin-Yusaf, annexed the territory of Sinde to the dominions of Islam. If we may trust the authority of Mir Maasum, Mahomed Kasim, at this time, established Daod the son of Tai, and Nasir, the son of Walid Osman, in the government of Multan, and Abd-al Malik, of the Bani Tamim, in the fort of Debalpur.

About Hij. 332, A.D. 943, Masudi visited Multan, where Abu Dilhas Alsambah, the son of Asad the Syrian, and of the tribe of Kureish, was then governor. Having subsequently visited Mansurah, he relates that the prince there was Abul Munzir Omar, the son of Abdullah, to

whom many chiefs of the Arabs, descended from Hamzah, the uncle of the prophet, and Ali his cousin, were then subject. To these ancestors we may trace the Saiyds of Sinde, and the family of the Sumrahs.

Several years previous to the arrival of Mahommedans from Saumrah, a governor of the country, and subject to the Khalifs of the house of Ommaiah, built Mansurah. According to the Arabic geographical dictionary, called Maajmu al Baldan, and also Masudi, this person is named Manhur, the son of Jamhur. The city, which is described of great extent, and rich in commercial articles, was situated on a canal of the river Mihran, or Indus. Its inhabitants were of the family of Hibar Ibn Alaswad, descended from the Bani Omar of the tribe of Kureish; and its probable site was that fixed on by D. Anville and Captain M'Murdo, where Nasirpur was founded at a subsequent period.

The Sumrahs, as already mentioned, became first known in Indian history during the reign of Mahmood of Ghizni, and lost their own power in Sinde about A. D. 1351, when, during the reign of Firoz Toghlak, an army from Delhi was led into Sivistan, against the Moghuls of Seistan, who had invaded Sinde. At this period, the name of fam Abrah Sammah first appears in history; and under this chief, the Sammahs of Kach, a branch of the Rajputs, migrated from their original country into Kach and Kattywar.

The Summahs, who succeeded to the power of the Sumrahs, were originally a pastoral tribe, in-

habiting the plains of Mekran, west of the Indus. Their family title of Jam would indicate their Persian descent; and they were probably the remains of that people who formed the kingdom of the Balhara; whose capital, in the time of Masudi, was called Samagarab, or Mangir, which appear to be the same as the fort of Sehwan, for Masr i says it was situated between the mountains .d Sawi. The Sammahs were in possession of Sinde and its neighbourhood from A. D. 1351 to 1528, when Jam Firoz fled to Bahadur Shah of Gujerat."

The same gentleman has communicated the following observations on the Indus. "The Indus is described by all the early Arabic geographers under the name of *Mehran*, which was meant to designate the large river rising beyond the Himala mountains, while the appellation of Sinde Rod or Sinde River, was given to the Punjnud. It is described as occupying a valley running from east to south-west, and, at its junction with the sea, the site of the city of Shagirah, distant two days from Debal, is mentioned by Masudi. This would appear to be the same place as Tatta."

MAP
THE DELTA OF THE INDUS

# ADDRESSES

OF

R. W. JAMES BURNES, K. H.

TO THE

# Calcutta Lodges;

WITH

R. W. JOHN GRANT'S

ADDRESS

TO THE

# PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE,

ON THE 17TH AUGUST, 1840,

AND

HIS MEMOIR

OF

# BROTHER BURNES.

---

COLLECTED IN ONE VOLUME

BY

*BR. F. W. BIRCH, P. G. D. C. & W. M. TRUE FRIENDSHIP.*

---

CALCUTTA:
SAMUEL SMITH & Co., No. 1, HARE-STREET.
1840.

TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL BRETHREN,

WILLIAM COATES BLACQUIERE,

P. D. P. G. M. FOR BENGAL;

JOHN CARNAC MORRIS,

D. P. G. M. FOR MADRAS;

WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS,

D. P. G. M. FOR WESTERN INDIA;

ROBERT NEAVE,

D. P. G. M. FOR BENGAL;

AND TO

THE MASONIC BRETHREN

IN THE EAST INDIES

WHEREVER DISPERSED,

THIS VOLUME

IS FRATERNALLY INSCRIBED

BY

BROTHER F. W. BIRCH.

# PREFACE.

The following Addresses by the R. W. Br. J. Burnes, were originally collected at the desire of the Lodge INDUSTRY AND PERSEVERANCE, which resolved unanimously that they should be printed for the information of masonic brethren generally. It is to be regretted, however, that some of them, especially the earlier ones, have been obtained in an imperfect form; and as most of them have already appeared in the public prints, it should also be explained, that they have assumed their present shape through the liberality of the V. W. Brother Samuel Smith, P. G. R. who, in his own absence, has instructed Brother R. W Chew to publish them, and to devote the proceeds of their sale to masonic charity.

French quotations, from a selection made by Brother Burnes, have been prefixed to each address, with the view of showing brethren in this country how highly the Craft is esteemed by some of the most eminent men in Europe; and where the editorial remarks in the newspapers have illustrated the

occasions on which the addresses were delivered, they also have been inserted, occasionally in a compressed form. It is with great satisfaction that I have also been enabled to include the address of the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal at the special convocation of the 17th August last; and likewise various specimens of the Masonic Lyrics, with which some of our poetical brethren have lately favored us.

The Right Worshipful Brother John Grant in his admired Memoir of Brother Burnes, which forms, along with a new Appendix, the concluding portion of this volume, has referred to the triumphant reception accorded to him by the Calcutta brethren. In illustration of the same subject, the following extracts from the *Weekly Examiner* of the 5th Sept. 1840 will be read with interest, as they convey a just impression of the festivals, from the able pen of an observant brother who was present at most of them :—

"The late resuscitation of the Provincial Grand Lodge, by the Brother of their heart's choice having been appointed to fill the long vacant chair, naturally produced a powerful re-animation among the members in general; and the visit to our eastern capital, of Brother Burnes, Provincial Grand

# ADDRESSES

TO THE

# CALCUTTA LODGES.

Quelle est cette institution mystérieuse, adoptée dans toute l'Europe, et qui, sans dépendre d'aucune forme de gouvernement, a conservé la pureté de sa fondation au milieu des convulsions politiques, de la chute des empires et des guerres religieuses? Quelle est cette association immense dont l'origine se perd dans la plus haute antiquité, et dont les ramifications plus étendues que celles du commerce, des alliances et de tous les intérêts sociaux s'établissent des rapports intimes entre les hommes de tous les pays, malgré les différences de climats, de langues, de croyances et de mœurs? Quel est le but de cette institution? Que signifient ses rites, ses usages, ses emblemes? Quels services a-t-elle rendus á l'humanité? Telle est á peu prés la série des questions que se fait tout homme raisonnable admis aux premiers mysqtéres de la Franc-Maconnerie. Rien n'est plus curieux, plus intéressant ue l'histoire de cet ordre.

ANTIDE JANVIER.

Prudent antiquity did, *for more* solemnity and better memory and observation of that which is to be done, express substances under ceremonies.

LORD COKE.

Master of Western India, gave a further occasion for testifying how much the cause of Masonry had awakened from its long uncongenial slumber. The Grand Lodge, as well as almost every other private assemblage in Calcutta has, in its turn, opened the portal of Brotherly hospitality to hail and greet the illustrious stranger; while at each of these reunions *our* respected Provincial Grand Master and his Officers, the Masters, Past-Masters, and Wardens of all the Lodges, as well as certain other particular masons, were generally present by invitation,—forming, (altogether distinct from the excellent fare,) a series of parties, the most delightful and heart-expanding, which, we believe, most of the Brethren have ever witnessed. The presence of *two* Provincial Grand Masters while, for so long a period, the Brethren here had seen no such personage at all, has, no doubt, added greatly to the invigoration of feeling. R. W. Brother Grant we had all known before, and how much his kindness of heart and suavity of manner enliven and delight all around him: R. W. Brother Burnes, although his fame came before him, has exceeded all expectation; and, by the depth of his true and genuine Masonic feeling, his generous sentiments, and inexhaustible eloquence, has left an impression on the heart of every Brother who listened to him,

which, we are convinced, no intervention of time or space will ever obliterate.

"Nor will, we trust, the memory of these delightful meetings pass away, like that of common parties devoted to mere social pleasure, which dies with the enjoyment. In many of the speeches delivered, the true principles and intentions of Masonry were expounded and developed in such a style as, we are convinced, many of the Brethren never before listened to. Worshipful Brother Sir Edward Ryan, on the first evening Brother Burnes was welcomed, which was by the invitation of Lodge Industry and Perseverance, of which Brother Ryan is the present worthy Master—W. Br. Ryan, on that evening, took occasion to remark 'that from the short time he had belonged to the craft, he pretended not to perfection in a knowledge of the *forms* of Masonry, but he believed he understood and felt its *spirit* as strongly as many present.' This distinction between the forms and the spirit of masonry, thus broached, was taken up at all the subsequent meetings, where language and sentiments were delivered on this important point, which, we believe, were something new to even a good many old and respected Brethren."

The same brother, in allusion to the fallen state of Masonry in Calcutta for some years before the present time; which he attributes in a great measure to the system of exclusiveness adopted by certain lodges, adds the following remarks which, as bearing upon the subject of the Festivals, ought not to be omitted here, although they convey a probably undeserved compliment to the compiler of this little volume.

"Was it possible that Masonry could flourish in such an unnatural condition of things? Was it possible for it to claim true regard, when every fraternal feeling, every precept of equality between brother and brother, which are its beautiful and binding institutes, were practically laughed at and held in scorn? But these gloomy and unbrotherly days are now happily past and gone; and we only allude to them as beacons to be in future avoided. Worshipful Brother Capt. F. W. Birch, when Master of Lodge Industry and Perseverance, was, we believe, the first to break the spell, by inviting, both to Masonic and social fellowship, the Masters and Officers of *all* the Calcutta Lodges; which practice has since been nobly followed up; and the recently created Lodge St. John, having for its present Worshipful Master the highly gifted Brother Henry

Torrens, with other members of his class and consequence in society, despising all conceited exclusiveness, and acting up to the true spirit and benevolence of the order, has opened its portals to all 'good men and true,' without regard to rank, caste, or external display. This is indeed Masonry, and if continued and persevered in, will soon, by its fruits, show the excellence of the stem; but if suffered to relax or retrograde, in spite of all a Grand Master or a Grand Lodge can do, it will again sicken and fall—most probably to rise no more. From the sentiments, however, of pure Masonic love and true brotherly equality, which have recently been so eloquently inculcated by such men as Brothers Grant, Burnes, Ryan, Torrens, &c., there is every reason to expect that such soul-cheering light will not again set in darkness, but that, in this benighted land, the cause of Masonry will beam more brightly and spread more widely—its cause, rightly understood, being that of all the human race; and its precepts and obligations, if truly and sincerely acted up to, sufficient to bind and sustain the entire family of man in one vast chain of fraternity and love!"

# ADDRESSES

TO THE

# CALCUTTA LODGES.

## 1.

## TO THE LODGE INDUSTRY AND PERSEVERANCE, W. M. THE HON. SIR EDWARD RYAN, JULY 29, 1840.

Pour le Macon est-il une terre lointaine qui ne lui presente une patrie ? Dans quelque contrèe, sur quelque plage qu'il soit jetè, il n'est jamais un ètranger.

ROBELOT.

Une societè qui ne travaille qu'á faire germer et fructifier toutes les vertus dans mes ètats, peut toujours compter sur mâ protection ; c'est la glorieuse tâche de toút souverain; je ne discontinuerai jamais de la remplir.

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

My Brethren,—I accept this cordial and brotherly compliment in the same frank and hearty spirit, with which it has been tendered to me, feeling nevertheless that I have no claim to appropriate to myself the high eulogium with which the eminent and distinguished brother who presides over you has been pleased to introduce me to notice. I have ever considered the consummation of just and honorable ambition to be in the esteem and approba-

tion of upright and enlightened men; and although I have already enjoyed an ample share of consideration from the craft in the shape not only of costly and magnificent testimonials, but in the still sweeter and more grateful form of that undeviating brotherly love which has elevated, and animated me; unworthy as I am, to be one of the instruments of re-constructing on a solid foundation our great Institution on the Western side of India, deeply do I appreciate the favor you extend towards me, and sincerely do I thank you for the splendid and generous hospitality with which you have welcomed me this night. Although the proud object of it, I may be permitted to remark that it is as honorable to yourselves as to me, for it is in accordance with the true spirit and immemorial usage of our Order, and but another happy illustration of its first and pure principle, by which all distrust is annihilated, and the stranger Mason leaps at once to the hearts, and hospitality of his brethren.

I have devoted my utmost energies to Masonry in India, not only because it draws closer the bonds of social union amongst educated individuals like ourselves, bringing together in happy intercourse our countrymen of all conditions who strive to walk uprightly, live within compass, and act upon the square, to the incalculable advantage of every

respectable portion of the European community; but also as a means admirably suited for extending, without awakening religious prejudice, a truer knowledge of the Great Architect of the Universe, and more just notions of their duty to each other, among the natives of this mighty empire. With discretion and judgment I have never doubted that it may in time be applied to these stupendous objects, and an institution which possesses such a spirit, and contains within it such a tendency, may justly demand the zealous and earnest support of every generous and philanthropic man.

Deeply impressed with these feelings, my brethren, you will believe that I have watched with intense interest the late revival of the Craft on this side of India, and I confess to you that one of my chief objects in visiting this stately metropolis of the East, was to hail the rising and spreading light, issuing from darkness under the fresh and vigorous guidance of my deeply valued, and Right Worshipful Brother, whose elevation to the Provincial Chair of Bengal, followed, as it has been, by his admirable selection of officers, is I conceive, one of the most important steps that has occurred in the march of Masonry within the present century, presaging probably momentous results both as affecting the civilization and happiness of our fellow men.

My pride and exultation have been extreme in finding him aided in his good work in particular, by the illustrious brother who rules this Lodge. '*Primus in Indis*,' it may be said of Sir Edward Ryan, for there is no noble and philanthropic object, no scheme of extended education, or system of moral improvement from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, with which his matured wisdom and venerable name may not be identified. The accession of such an honoured individual is a tower of strength to our cause; the effect of his efforts may be incalculable, but it is probable, combined with the exertions of the worthy, excellent, and active brethren with whom he is associated, that, under the favor of the Supreme Master, they will prove irresistible in diffusing the blessings of charity, good will, and love to all men.

It is in favor of my opinions of Masonry that thay are identical with those of this eminent brother, who although raised by Providence to a high spoke of Fortune's wheel, presents probably the best example amongst us of that happy combination of humility with true dignity, which gives such grace to the Masonic profession. *Longo intervallo*, the inferior of Your Right Worshipful Master in all things else, I may yet be permitted, as a Ruler in Israel, to demand of you an overflowing tribute to his perfec-

knowledge of the true principles of the craft, and his unwearied devotion to its practical objects.

(*From the Englishman, 5th September*, 1840.)

This address was obligingly sent us by an officer of the Lodge '*Industry and Perseverance*,' whose members have determined to mark their sense of Dr. Burnes's merits as an eminent brother of the craft by giving publicity to all his eloquent and fervid addresses—addresses which have had the effect of giving fresh life to masonry in India by stimulating good fellowship, and promulgating the excellent principles of the holy order. We hope for a continuation of the addresses; in the meantime, whether as a mason or an accomplished member of society, we cordially join in offering Dr. Burnes a hearty welcome to Calcutta and shall be glad if, on his return to Bombay, he is enabled by the tales he shall tell, to mollify the petty hostilities which the ducks have thought proper to manifest towards the Qui-hyes during the last few years.

## II.

## TO THE ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER HOPE, M. E. Z. ALEXANDER GRANT, P. G. S.. AUGUST, 5 1840.

De toutes les associations particuliéres qui se sont formées parmi les differens peuples du monde connu, il n'y en a aucune qui ne doive ceder la prèèminence á la societè des Francs-Macons. Elle a sur les autres un but de'utilitè réelle; voilá son premier avantage. Ses assemblèes, consacrèes surtout á la bienfaisance, ont etabli entre les diffèrens peuples des liens de fraternitè infiniment estimables: aussi a-t-on vu les hommes les plus vertueux et les plus èclairès rechercher avec empressement de pareilles societes. Les gouvernemens raisonnables ont tolèrè, et même protègè cette institution respectable par son antiquitè et par ses deux bases ptemiéres, l'ègalitè et la charitè. Nous citerons en preuve le grand Frèdèric, et particuliérement l'empereur Joseph qui, par un règlement de police spèciale, avait accordè aux Francs-Macons deux ou trois loges dans chacune des grandes villes de sa domination, et il en prononca le motif, en dèclarant que cette societè était spècialement humaine, douce et compatissante, qu'elle soulageait les pauvres et cultivait les sciences et les arts, ainsi que les belles-lettres.

ABRAHAM.

Although I have visited assemblies of the Craft in many kingdoms of the globe, enjoying every where as I went the privileges appertaining to Masonry, I am not aware that I have ever experi-

enced sincerer satisfaction at the proceedings of any body of brethren than I have felt this evening. The labours of the degree in which we have been engaged are of a peculiarly trying, and difficult nature, failing altogether in their object if not conducted in that style of impressive solemnity, and stately ceremonial, which ought especially to characterize the most distinguished, and elevated grade of Masonry acknowledged by the Grand Lodge of England. Feeling that the transition from the sublime to the opposite might readily occur, I have generally suffered an intense degree of nervousness in entering Royal Arch Chapters which have been recently revived, or established; and although I had less apprehension on the present occasion, nevertheless, proportionate to the anxiety I have usually felt, is the gratification I now enjoy at the result of this night's proceedings; nor will it, I trust, be considered presumptuous if I offer my unqualified approbation of them, and express my belief that while they display abundant evidence of the fervent zeal, knowledge, and industry of the excellent Companions, A. Grant and F. Birch, they will also produce a lasting, and beneficial impression—the true and legitimate object of all masonic ceremonies,—on the worthy brethren, who have been exalted at this convocation.

Nothing also is wanting here to give effect to the Royal Arch ceremonies, either in respect to magnificent insignia for your officers, or elegant and appropriate decorations for your chapter, and it is but a bare act of justice if I offer my homage to the exquisite taste, and masonic knowledge which have been evinced by your most Excellent Principal Alexander Grant, in the selection of these necessary and ornamental accessories while in Europe, as well as to the almost unexampled activity and perseverance with which he has laboured in the good cause since his return to Bengal. The principal Sojourner's intimate acquaintance with this, as with all other branches of Masonry, is likewise beyond all praise, and altogether, I do not hesitate to say that I have never sat in a better constituted, or more admirably conducted Royal Arch Chapter than the present, young as it is.

My object in premising these observations, before returning thanks, will not be misunderstood, since every true hearted brother present will enter into my feelings how inexpressibly a compliment, such as that with which you have honored me, rises in value when it emanates from men not weary in well doing, but diligent in the good cause, devoting their time and efforts to its maintenance, and upholding with judgment and success the land marks and usages of our ancient order. It is in this enhanced

and more precious form then, my brethren, that I accept the tender of your good will, and assure you of my heart-felt gratitude for the distinction you have conferred upon me.

On this occasion an eminent dignitary of the Provincial Grand Lodge obliged the brethren with the following,

MASONIC SONG.

We're often asked, my Brethren dear,
By men of sordid mind,
What good we gain, by meeting here,
What pleasures here we find;
Now, though the question we despise,
For once we'll let it pass,
And give some reasons why we prize
The mason's social glass.

When round this festive board we sit,
In friendship's genial glow,
No cold formalities we admit,
No prosy dulness know;
But free from envy, strife, and care,
Our moments gaily pass,
And that's one reason good and fair,
To prize the mason's glass.

Within our walls true freedom reigns,
With joy and social mirth,
Distinctions no one here obtains,
Save those of honest worth,

The poor, the rich, the low, the high,
Here all alike we class,
And that's a second reason why,
We prize the mason's glass.

Though oft the toast, and song we troll,
Or late our vigils keep,
Still temperance hovers o'er the bowl
Nor lets us drink too deep—
No vulgar orgies here are seen,
Though blythe our moments pass,
Another reason fair, I ween,
To prize the mason's glass.

Let prosy pedants rail and jeer
At joys they ne'er can know,
We laugh to scorn the cynic's sneer,
Whilst bright our bumpers flow.
Here still we meet upon the square,
Here, gay the moments pass,
And that's another reason fair,
To prize the mason's glass.

And now, I think, my Brethren dear,
I've made the matter plain,
And shewn good reasons why we here
Should meet, and meet again;
And if some Cowan knave should sneer,
We 'll deem him but an ass,
And still continue, joyous here,
To prize the mason's glass.

## III.

### TO THE LODGE TRUE FRIENDSHIP, W. M. CAPTAIN, F. W. BIRCH.
AUGUST 11, 1840.

Rèunis par les liens d'une amitiè fraternelle, èclairès par une lumiére pure et brillante, les Macons s'avancent vers la sagesse, en foulant aux pieds les prèjugès de l'ignorance et les viles passions du vulgaire.

BENOISTON DE CHATEAUNEUF.

Nous ne pouvons être Macons sans être amis des hommes ; en en fuyant les vices, nous devons nous attendrir sur leur misere, et nous occuper des moyens de la soulager.

LEROY.

The address of the Right Worshipful Brother Burnes to this Lodge was unfortunately not obtained. It consisted chiefly in a warm eulogy of the services to the Craft of the W. Master and of the V. W. Br. Samuel Smith, (whose health he proposed, and in whose elegant apartments at the Hurkaru office the Lodge assembled) and also in observations on a highly interesting event which occurred during the evening, namely, the initiation of Brother Moses Cohen, the principal Jewish merchant of Calcutta, who at the advanced age of 66 had sought to be enrolled amongst the brethren.

It was this meeting if we mistake not, that Brother W. H. Hamerton first favored the Brethren with the following song composed by himself, to a new air, and which was also sung at all the subsequent festivals amidst the greatest applause.

LET'S WELCOME THE HOUR.

Let's welcome the hour when thus happy we meet,
May the light of our Order long gloriously shine,
While, in kindliest feeling and harmony sweet,
All true brother Free-masons for ever combine!
Some sage once declar'd, that a portion of gold
In mankind lay conceal'd but he ne'er could impart
The secret recess, till our masters of old
Prov'd the ore was Free-masonry lodg'd in the heart.
Then welcome the hour, &c.

This gold of kind nature shone then but in few,
Nor had masonry's virtue as yet it's full scope,
Till, illumin'd by Faith, it arose to our view,
And the heart was adorn'd by the sun-shine of Hope.
The ore, even then, was unyielding and cold,
Nor as yet had the ensign of light been unfurl'd,
Till, melting with Charity's glow, the heart's gold
In a stream of warm fellowship flow'd through the world.
Then welcome the hour, &c.

The craft thence diffused the rich, pure golden tide
Of masonic benevolence right from the heart,
Over all human nature, extensive and wide,
Shedding lustre the Order alone can impart.
And now for a toast,—fill your glasses, be sure,—
And let each with each heart flow in union with me,

A bumper, my friends,—here's "the health of all poor
And distress'd brother masons, wherever they be!"

The toast of obligation was here drank, and the Brethren generally, with heart-felt pleasure, joined in the chorus,

Then welcome the hour when thus happy we meet,
May the light of our Order long gloriously shine,
While, in kindliest feeling and harmony sweet,
All true brother Free-masons for ever combine!

## IV.

## AT THE SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF BENGAL.

AUGUST 17, 1840.

Dètracteurs de la Maconnerie, vous qui ne voyez en elle qu'une institution puèrile et frivole, approchez et venez recevoir au milieu de nous la grave et utile lecon du nèant de la vie, de l'instabilitè des choses humaines, de ces vicissitudes continuciles d'heur et de malheur, qui partagent, agitent, tourmentent, ja'i presque dit composent l'existence, et dites encore, si vous l'osez, que nos rèunions n'ont aucun objet sèrieux, aucun but moral!

COMTE MURAIRE.

After the usual toasts of obligation, the R. W. Br. John Grant, P. G. M. for Bengal addressed the assemblage as follows:—

In rising to propose for your acceptance a toast to which I anticipate that you will do ample justice, I beg of you not to expect from me anything like a set speech. That toast, announced simply by itself without any preface, would I know command its own applause, but it would be scarcely becoming of me to offer it without some little introduction having reference to the feelings

under which I give it, and those with which I am sure, *you* will receive it. The occasion stands not in need of eloquence, for that I could not bestow upon it, but demands simply a homely, hearty, unanimous expression of right brotherly welcome! And yet, this is no ordinary occasion, for as a Highland proverb has it, "it is not every day that the Macintosh holds a feast", nor is it every day that we have an opportunity of taking by the right hand of fellowship as I now do* the Masonic Metropolitan of Western India.

When I see so many old Masons around me, and also behold the recent acquisitions to our columns, I cannot express how glad I am at this unequivocal proof of the hearty revival of Free-Masonry among us; and how proud I am that my Brother Colleague of Bombay should be now among us to

'Share the triumph and pursue the gale.'

In the presence of our younger Brethren I may be excused for saying a few words upon the principles of Masonry, which some among us have evinced a disposition to depreciate. A newspaper in upper India for instance, has for reasons best known to itself, put itself into a hostile position towards the craft, which perhaps it would not do were it more conversant with its principles. Ma-

* Here brother Grant shook brother Burnes cordially by the hand amid loud applause.

sonry, however, no more than any other system, need expect to escape calumny, nor must masons hope for exception in their favor, from censures, the truth and candor of which may be perfectly upon a par. I found the following extract the other day in a Calcutta paper, being a re-print from an English periodical, on Free Masonry.

"The chief defect of its principle of unity and brother-hood seems to be, that the kindly affections are only at the disposal of a brother, but do not embrace the whole human race. The benevolent regard is avowedly partial, and intended to be held forth, not to the innocent and deserving, but to those only who chance to be within the pale of membership."

Now, what injustice is here? Will any one point out, Christianity itself of course excepted, a system that more comprehensively embraces the whole human race than Masonry? No man is excluded from its privileges on account of his religion, provided he believe in the Divine Architect of heaven and earth and practises the sacred duties of morality. So says our book of Constitutions. Christianity itself declares that we are to do good unto *all* men, especially those of the household of faith. Masonry humbly endeavours to walk in this track, and claims no more than this, to do all the good it can to

all mene especially to them of the household of Masonry. I need not go far for an illustration, and singularly enough, I found it in the same Calcutta newspaper, in which the extract from the up-country paper reflecting on Masonry, as idle, or useless, also appeared; I mean the simple fact that within twelve hours of the lamentable wrecks of the ships Lord William Bentinck and Castlereagh at Bombay, the masons of the place, led by their philanthropic Grand Master, had realized sixteen hundred Rupees for the relief of the sufferers*. Did those who were no masons anticipate this noble act? If they did not, we blame them not—but do not let us be told that the Institution whose principle it is to foster acts like these is idle or useless. Did the dispensers of this bounty, think you, pick out and select their objects of relief? Did they say,

* This alludes to the shipwrecks of the *Bentinck* and *Castlereagh* at Bombay, on the 18th June 1840. On the following day a Masonic subscription for the sufferers was commenced, which amounted in eight hours to 1600 Rupees, and in a few days to nearly 2500. The R. W. Brother Burnes mentioned that the principal instrument in distributing this charity was Brother the Rev. George Pigott, Chaplain to the Lodge Perseverance, who nobly supported his Christian and Masonic character, by remaining at the point, during the pelting of the pitiless storm, rescuing the living, and burying the dead, (for both were thrown on shore in a church yard) till the last moment his services continued to be useful.

this our contribution shall be confined to the masons and relatives of masons who have been shipwrecked? Are you not, my Brethren, from your knowledge of the Craft, and experience of its catholic charity ready indignantly to exclaim, "No!" For ought my Right Worshipful colleague of Bombay and his brethren knew, there might not at the time of their making their prompt contribution be a single mason, or relative of a mason among them. What is it then that has marked the progress of Masonry from first to last? I answer, sympathy with the whole family of man. Whether TERENCE was a mason or not I cannot determine, but that was a true masonic sentiment of his which brought down thunders of applause in the Roman Theatre,

"Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto."

But what is Masonry? I may be asked. It is not an easy matter to define some things, especially such as in their comprehensiveness cannot be readily crammed into the nutshell of a definition. Who shall give me a definition of poetry, or of life, or of death? The task has been attempted, and may be attempted again—but it will prove a failure. I shall not then endeavour to define Masonry, but I will venture to assert what it is *not*. Whatever is shifting, hollow, and insincere, is not masonry. Whatever is factious, coarse, contentious, litigious, brawling, unkind, or subversive of

legitimate authority and order, is *not* masonry. Whatever sets no value on the feelings of others or is ungenerously selfish, whatever is base in principle, or trenches upon licentiousness of morals, or merges into intemperance of the cup, or breaks into uncurbed ebullitions of temper is *not* masonry! What is it then? I must borrow the words of the sacred penman.

ΕΑΝ ταις γλωσσαις των ανθρωπων λαλω και των αγγελων, 'αγαπην δε μη ἔχω, γεγονα χαλκος ἠχων ἢ κυμβαλον ἀλαλαζον.

True masonry in a word is the comprehensive Αγαπη of which ελεμοσυνη is but a sign or part. It includes the profoundest veneration of the Divine Architect and perfect philanthropy. It reverently responds to the angelic chorus, "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax, in homines benevolentia." It is the principle that opens simultaneously the heart and the purse, and binds together as with a strong but golden band, men from every quarter of the globe, and of every degree. Where on earth I ask can any one witness an assemblage like a masonic lodge where the peer and the shopkeeper, the ermined judge, and the mechanic, meet in orderly and fraternal communion upon the broad basis of moral equality? A mason lodge, in a word, shadows forth high and mystic analogies, and points impressively to that dark and dread portal where the great Tyler DEATH

stands, to admit to the celestial lodge those who have the benefit of the true pass word the Αγαπη in all its deep and eternal truth!

There is one present whom we have met to honor, and it was but proper that I should endeavour to manifest to his satisfaction the principles by which his Colleague of Bengal would fain guide his masonic course. I am embarrassed by that person's presence, thrice welcome though he be—for were he *not* present I could say much more about his claims to our respect and affectionate regard than I can now with propriety do. Then might I tell of one exalted to a station which received rather than conferred, honor by his acceptance of it. Then might I speak of one who to the most courteous and winning manners, united the solid qualities of the good heart, and the abilities of the understanding that mark him for no common man. Then might I refer to a kindly, generous, and active spirit, that deeply sympathises with humanity in all its conditions. Then might I point out a model to masons, as uniting in himself the merits of the pillars that stand in their mystic place, and ever will stand. I would in a word propose the health of BROTHER JAMES BURNES, *Provincial Grand Master of Bombay.*

## V.

## THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF BENGAL CONTINUED.

Par quelle magie, par quel secret pouvoir, des hommes de toutes nations, d'etats differens, d'age, de mœurs et de conditions si diverses ; des hommes qui se seraient a peine accueillis des apparènces d'une froide politesse si le hasard les eut reunis dans les compagnies, et le cercle ordinaire des profanes ; par quelle magie, dis-je, ont-ils donc pu oublier les prérogatives de leur noblesse, la vanité des rangs, le prestige des fortunes, l'orgueil qu'inspire la superiorité de l'esprit, des connaissances et des talens, pour ne former á l'avenir qu'une societé de Fréres et d'amis ?

BEGUILLET.

The reply of the Provincial Grand Master of Western India to the foregoing was nearly in the following terms:—

"I have already on no less than four former occasions, when honored by the presence, and enjoying the society of most of the worthy brethren whom I see around me, endeavoured to express the extent of my obligation for the generous spirit and munificent hospitality with which I have been welcomed by the members of the craft in Calcutta, and having varied each phrase, and exhausted every expression of gratitude of which I am master,

without doing justice to you, or relieving my own feelings, I can now but fall back on the simplest and sincerest expression of our language, and assure you with truth that, I thank you. If I can offer no further professions, I console myself with the flattering conviction that I have already so far secured your good opinion, that no one present will imagine, should an opportunity occur, I am ever likely to be wanting in reciprocity of kindness.

And yet, brethren, this is an occasion on which from the fullness of the heart my mouth might speak, since this assemblage partakes of a high official character, and seals as it were, with the stamp of authority, its approbation of my masonic career; and when I reflect on the composition of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal under the able superintendance of my Right Worshipful, gifted, and honored friend, aided by the WISDOM of the venerable and eminent brother, whose name has been familiar to the craft in India for more than half a century, and whose presence on this occasion enhances the obligation under which I labour,—the character of its Wardens, the one filling with glory and honor, the highest judgment seat, and aptly typical of the stupendous Pillar of STRENGTH, magnificent yet worthless, unless its pediment sustain the emblem of that JUSTICE with MERCY of which he is a true and fitting representative; and the other dis-

playing no less the surpassing BEAUTY of an honorable career of FIDELITY, crowned by the perfect FAITH of his superiors, and the esteem of his fellowmen;—its Deacons also, the senior by an example of refined intellect, and the junior by strenuous personal efforts, diffusing TRUTH, and affording HOPE of improvement, amongst our subjects, whilst the Master of the Grand Stewards' Lodge, presents to us a transcendent illustration of the LIGHT of education amongst ourselves; and last, not least, in reference to Masonry,—although there are others whom for their CHARITY, PRUDENCE, and BROTHERLY LOVE, I ought also especially to designate,—its active and zealous Secretary, and indefatigable and highly instructed Director of Ceremonies, I feel tempted to exclaim, what have I done to obtain the applause of such men, and contrasting your generosity with the insignificant nature of my deserts, I may well acknowledge that I am bankrupt in words, to convey my appreciation of it.

Shorn of the beams with which the eloquence and friendship of my exalted brother have invested me, and tested by the unerring implements of our speculative art, I can but present myself as an individual, owing all the consideration he enjoys to the indulgence of such brethren as yourselves; nor can I urge any personal claim on your kindness,

excepting that, like the accomplished scholar who, notwithstanding the difficulty of definitions, has now offered to us so exquisite and luminous an exposition of what our principles are, and what they are *not*, I have at heart an ardent love for the improvement and happiness, without exclusion or partiality, of my fellow-creatures, which has gathered strength from Masonic study, and been fostered and developed within me by meetings and intercourse like the present.

It is indeed a proud recommendation for me that I am the representative of those true and faithful brethren of Western India, whose alacrity in the cause of free and extended charity on the occasion of the late shipwrecks, as alluded to in so gratifying a manner by my right worshipful brother, has afforded the best practical contradiction to the scoffs and misrepresentations of ignorant and designing men. Let those who would represent masonry as a narrow and selfish institution, the avenues and benefits of which are open only to its own votaries, know that the brethren of Bombay lost not a moment in investigations into signs and tokens; but rushed forward with one heart to the relief of the shipwrecked mariner, and the destitute widow, carrying with them a full stream of unrestrained charity, which we cannot doubt has blessed alike the giver and the receiver. Masonic principles must have

impelled them, but for masonic obligation there was no necessity, since it was never ascertained that amongst the naked and the hungry thrown on shore from the wrecks, there was a single individual connected with the craft. Those worthy brethren will, I know, participate with me in the feelings of exultation which I now enjoy. Great will be their gratification, I believe, to learn of my triumphant reception amongst you; and proud will be the hour when I announce to them that in this splendid city, and at this august assemblage of the craft, their charitable deeds have been held forth as glorious examples, and they themselves celebrated, as Masons bearing their emblems worthily.—

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At this convocation, the W. Br. Henry Torrens, Master of the Grand Steward's Lodge, amidst enthusiastic applause, sang the following song composed by him for the occasion:—

A Welcome to the R. W. Br. James Burnes, K. H.

Oh, say when the wine cup is brimming around,
And the murmur of welcome is heard in our hall,
Why should music, sweet hand-maid of joy, stint her sound,
And the glad voice of song fail to come at our call?
Tho' all rude be the rhyme, yet it smooth may appear,
When the fervour of feeling its vigour shall lend,

And the harsh rolling-measure steal sweet on the ear
When it welcomes the Master, the Brother, the Friend!
Then say when, &c.

Had you wandered among us, all penniless, poor,
With no hope on the ocean, no home on the land,
Oh, the key that you wot of had opened each door,
And each brother stood by you, with lip, heart and hand:
Then as welcome you'd been in your moment of woe
By the name that you bear, and the meed that's your due,
As even now when our hearts every sorrow forego,
And the eye beams glad welcome, true mason, to you.
Then say when, &c.

And oh, when hereafter you think of this night,
In the name of each Lodge, know their wishes exprest;
Like "The Star in the East" be the presign of Light,
Let "Humility, Fortitude" still be your test;
"Perseverance and Industry" profit each day,
The support of "True Friendship" be thine to the end,
May the "Anchor of Hope" be your hold and your stay,
And "St John's," bless thee, Brother, true Mason and Friend.

(*From the Calcutta Courier, 18th August,* 1840.)

The Officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, assisted by the Wardens and Officers of other Lodges, met at the Free Masons's Hall on the 17th instant. At 8 o'clock, the Lodge was opened in due form to welcome the Provincial Grand Master of Western India Dr. Burnes—the grand stewards, received him at the bottom of the steps, headed by their Master, Worshipful

Brother Torrens; the latter introduced him to the Members of the Grand Lodge; after which the Lodge was closed, and the company retired to the refreshment table —they sat down to a splendid dinner of Spence's best, and the flow of wine and flow of soul did not cease to enliven the convivial party till a late hour.

The toasts were nearly all prefaced with excellent speeches from the givers—the address from Brother Burnes was particularly good and appropriate—we have seldom heard an address so excellent in matter and in words delivered on any similar occasion. The address from the Provincial Grand master of Bengal was also one of his best—his expressions regarding Masonry were so *apropos* and striking, that we think no member who heard him will ever allow them to escape his memory. The Hall was most tastefully fitted up for so grand an occasion, and the whole *ensemble* did great credit to the exertions and taste of the Grand Poursuivant. Brothers Thomson, Burnes, Burlton, Linton, Hamerton, Guest, and many other brethren favored the company with several songs.

## VI.

### TO THE LODGE ANCHOR AND HOPE, W. M. ALEXANDER GRANT.

AUGUST 21, 1840.

La Société ou l'ordre des Francs-Maçons est la réunion d'hommes choisis, qui se lient entre eux par une obligation de s'aimer tous comme des Frères, de s'aider dans le besoin, de s'animer aux vertus, surtout à la bienfaisance, et de garder ún secret inviolable sur tout ce qui caracterise leur ordre.

LALANDE

Par la véritable Maçonnerie, la vertu a de l'activité, l'innocence de l'appui, l'indigence des secours, la vertu des panégyristes, le zèle des admirateurs, la piété des disciples, et le royaume de César des citoyens respectueux et reconnaissans.

LEFEBVRE d'AUMALE.

The speech of Brother Burnes to this Lodge has not been obtained. It was an affectionate reply to the following address, presented to him in a highly ornamental frame, with some most appropriate observations by the Worshipful Master.

'Right Worshipful Sir and Brother, we, the Master, Past Master, and Wardens of the Lodge "Anchor and Hope," with feelings of the highest respect and esteem for your great and unwearied masonic zeal, your universally acknowledged worth, and your kindness and urbanity to all, beg to

tender, for your acceptance, this humble tribute of our fraternal affection. It is almost presumptuous in us to offer this memorial, possessing as you do the homage of every heart acquainted with your masonic career; but we do so, Right Worshipful Sir, in the hope that this poor offering will tend, while it lasts, to record the fame of your virtues, the vigour of your mind, and the place you held in our affections.'

'In conclusion we have only to implore the Great Architect of the Universe, that you may long be spared as an instrument, through him, of promoting the welfare of our ancient and hallowed institution.'—

It was on this occasion the following song was sung. It will be recognised as the honest and hearty effusion of the same Right Worshipful and esteemed brother, whose "Masonic Song" we have inserted in page 9.

SUCCESS TO MASONRY.

Now friendly hearts surround the board,
The glasses sparkle bright,
And joy and friendship weave the chain
Which binds us here to night;
One toast, one toast I claim, Boys,
A bumper let it be,
'Tis a toast to every mason dear,
"Success to Masonry"

Drink round, drink round, boys,
A Bumper let it be, &c.

To Masonry, with heart and hand,
The glass, we've drained; but yet
Another toast there still remains,
Which we should ne'er forget;
It well deserves a bumper
A cordial heartfelt round,
'Tis the health of all good masons
Where'er they may be found.—
Drink round, drink round, drink round, Boys,
A bumper let it be,
And with it unite our first toast
"Success to Masonry."

Nor should we here forget those
Who cheer and gladden our lives,
So fill the glass again, Boys,
To all good Mason's Wives,
Here's to our Masonic Sisters,
Oh, happily may they live,
As happy as those with whom they share
The joys their virtues give.
Drink round, drink round, &c.

And now, before we sever
The links which bind us here,
Let's toast all Mason's children,
The Bairns they hold so dear—
May their Sons become good Masons,
Their daughters, Mason's wives,
And may all Masonic virtues

Adorn and grace their lives.
Drink round, &c. &c.

Another Bumper yet I claim,
To our distinguished guest
Who so ably wields the Hiram
Of Masonry in the West;
A Mason's welcome, we give him,
The welcome of the heart,
Right happy we've been to meet him,
And sorry shall be to part.
Drink round, &c. &c.

May health and joy attend him
Wherever his steps he turns,
And one full Bumper let us drink
To Masonry and Burnes;
Those names have long been united,
United they long shall be,
And our last, though not our worst toast
Is Burnes and Masonry,—
Drink round, drink round, drink round, Boys,
A Bumper let it be
And our last, though not our worst, toast
Is Burnes, and Masonry!

## VII.

### TO ST. JOHN'S LODGE W. M. HENRY TORRENS.

AUGUST 29, 1840.

Parmi nous, l'homme vient chercher l'homme. Laissant en dehors les opinions et les croyances, les macons ne demandent á leurs Fréres que des vertus, l'humanitè, la bienfaisance, la fidèlitè á tenir sa parole et ses sermens. Chez nous régnent essentiellement l'ègalitè, la tolèrance, premiers garans de la libertè de l'homme, symboles augustes de sa dignitè originelle. Voilace que s'attendent á trouver parmi les Macons tous ceux qui demandent á connaitre la vraie lumiére.

DUPIN.

Je ne puis me trouver dans cette enceinte sans eprouver cette emotion douce qu'un vrai Macon trouve au milieu de ses Freres.

LE PRINCE CAMBACERES.

After having acknowledged his gratitude in strong terms for this fresh instance of the hospitality of the Calcutta brethren, and expressed his pride at having been honoured both in poetry and eloquence by brother Torrens, the R. W. brother Burnes proceeded nearly in the following words: Nothing can more clearly evince the inexhaustible nature of the subject of Masonry, and the application of its great principles to innumerable and varied objects, than the circumstance that, at each of the many

meetings which have lately taken place in honor of so unworthy an individual as myself, brother after brother has presented to us fresh illustrations and expositions of its sublime tendency, and unfading beauty. It is, in truth, a fountain of living water, from which those who thirst for the good of their fellow men may drink, and gather strength; and a mine of true knowledge, from which the pure treasure of exalted morality, high toned honor, and ever blessed charity may be obtained unalloyed with, and to neutralise, all the base uncharitableness of our frail nature, yielding to him who searches for it in becoming spirit a better directed ability, with a renewed vigour and incitement, to serve others; and, by a natural consequence, an accumulated share of happiness and serenity to his own bosom. To the princely Grand Master on the throne, and to the penniless wandering Mason on a distant shore, its emblems alike convey a lesson and a consolation, maintaining between the great and the humble brother a chain of sympathy which is indissoluble; – it embraces unerring rules to solve every question of justice and of doubt between man and man;—*in* the time of peril and the day of pride, in the ambition of youth, the wisdom of manhood, and the sear and yellow leaf, its dictates may alike be our guide, for although it does not insist on special forms of faith or creeds, it is calculated equally to enforce the obligations

of true religion, and to crush all false notions of our duty to our Creator, our neighbour, and ourselves. It is but a truism to add, that it is based on that never failing charity which upholds universal love, calms the troubled sea of our evil passions, and leaves a smooth surface on which the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahommedan, each being a sincere and conscientious worshipper of the Supreme Ruler, and unexceptionable in moral conduct, may unite, bless each other, and rejoice in practically realizing the sublime sentiment, that

> God hath made mankind one mighty brotherhood,
> Himself their master, and the world their lodge.

These have been the broad principles of Masonry from immemorial time, but it is not inconsistent with them that in a Christian community, lodges should exist such as this, composed of trusty and rigid watchmen at the outworks, who conceiving that the moral and Christian characters are, or ought to be, identical among our countrymen, require from those of them who present themselves as candidates, a specific declaration of the faith within them. Never have I seen the golden precepts with which our system abounds more beautifully developed, or more forcibly inculcated, than in the course of this night; and never have I been present on any occasion when the venerable land marks of the ceremonial of our order, secondary certainly to its prin-

character of candidates, which is particularly strict in the case of soldiers. My first experience of this I acquired in a manner which I shall not forget. I had been desired to solicit of the present Earl of Rosslyn to allow his Regimental band to attend at the celebration of the centenary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1836. His Lordship, the representative of a long line of hereditary Grand Masters,* although himself no Mason, not only at once complied with my request, but expressed his wish to enter the craft,—praying me not to depart until he had given the requisite orders to his Adjutant. This officer, a gallant veteran, soon appeared, and having heard Lord Rosslyn's orders, addressed him as follows;—"I am myself a mason, my Lord, of many years standing, and I hope a conscientious one; this gentleman knows that the musicians cannot attend the meeting without receiving at least the lowest grade of the craft; let me ask if he has instituted the necessary enquiries into their characters? I protest against the admission of some of them."—I took this just rebuke as be-

* In the reign of James II., William St. Clair of Roslin, Prince of Orkney, and Earl of Caithness, had vested in him, and his heirs for ever, the dignity of Grand Master Mason of Scotland, which continued with his descendants until 1736, when William St. Clair of Roslin, being childless, resigned it to the Craft.

came me, and the selection was left to the worthy Adjutant; for whom I am glad to say also, a place was reserved as an honored guest at the centenary. I have even some years ago known a Field Officer make the humiliating confession that, much as he desired to be a mason, he knew he could not obtain admission into the lodge of his own regiment from the want of a moral qualification.

The Duke of York, when he sanctioned lodges in the army, foresaw their advantages, not only as inducing the soldier to obtain, and retain a character, but in conferring on him also a sure protection in the time of need. Every one knows that even in the fury of the late war, the charters, diplomas, and insignia of lodges used to be returned with courtesy after an engagement. I am old enough to recollect when my own father, the master of a Lodge, and a magistrate, took the responsibility of removing some French prisoners from jail to his own house because they were brethren: and it was only last night that Colonel Logan, a brave officer of the Peninsula, but no mason, mentioned to me an authentic anecdote which will interest you. A whole Battalion of the 4th Foot had been taken prisoners, and the officers stripped of every thing; several of them were bemoaning their lot in a dreary abode, when to their surprise they saw a subaltern of their corps passing along with a gay

step, in full dress. The explanation was very simple; having been discovered to be a Mason, his uniform and baggage had been immediately restored to him; and he was then going by special invitation to dine with the French Field Marshal! Some of you may have heard the revered brother Blacquiere, whose Masonic reminiscences, communicated as they are with such perfect courtesy and taste, possess the most intense interest, mention the circumstance of a party of ladies and gentlemen having been taken prisoners in the Bay of Bengal by the French Frigate *La Forte*, but who were all afforded the means of escape on the Captain's discovering that there was the master of one of the Calcutta Lodges amongst them. It is useless to multiply instances, since every one knows that a masonic token has often arrested the sword of the destroyer; and I would but ask those who represent our order as a musty relic of bye-gone times, altogether incompatible with the *golden* age in which we live, to point out any other invention of man which could so soften the miseries of war, and heighten the courtesies of life, between individuals of contending nations. For my own part I conceive that until the light of true religion shall pervade the universe, and the happy period arrive when the whole world shall become a lodge, and every man a brother, the fondest enthusiast for the ameliora-

tion of the human race can scarcely dream of a condition of society to which the enforcement of the obligations of BROTHERLY LOVE, RELIEF, and TRUTH can be inapplicable, or otherwise than a blessing; and I glory in the conviction, that Masonry was never more extended, triumphant, and influential, than at the present moment.

From the qualification required in Military lodges, as well as the character of our institution, the masonic badge has become an honorable distinction in the ranks of the army. Although I have known much of soldiers, I offer not my own experience. On last St. John's day, I had the honor of being supported by Brigadier Valiant, commanding the Garrison of Bombay, and Colonel Griffith, the Commandant of Artillery, two distinguished officers and masons, who asserted in presence of the Military lodge, "Orthez," then headed by Brothers Sergeant Horrocks and Captain Hall, that masonic brethren had invariably been the best conducted soldiers. It is within my knowledge also, that a gallant officer well known to all present, Colonel William Dunlop, the Quarter Master General of this Army, himself no mason though probably one of those worthy men who scarcely require to be made so, stated publicly at a meeting at Agra, that during his command of the Bengal European Regiment, no masonic brother's name

had ever appeared in the defaulters list! Do the most incredulous require a further proof that Masonry is calculated "to make men better, and to keep them so?" It is from a philanthropic contemplation of its effects upon our countrymen, that I believe my Right Worshipful Brother the Provincial Grand Master for Bengal, of whom, as he is absent, I may say that a more noble minded, generous, and enlightened man was never lent by Europe to Asia, has imbibed the idea of making admission within its precincts, a reward for well-tried integrity, and intellectual attainments, amongst the natives.

So much, however, for the effect of Masonry on the soldier—How it has chastened the officer, I need scarcely recount here, since the annals of this city contain a glorious record of its triumph, and many still glow with enthusiasm at the recollection of the august scene* when Francis Marquis of

* On the occasion alluded to, the Marquis made use of the following expressions:—'I have felt a lively interest in the promotion of what I believe to be highly beneficial to Society. The veil thrown over Masonry renders its operation silent and unobserved; yet the influence of a body spread thro' all classes of Society, pervading every circle, and diffusing through it, by its separate members, opinions digested and matured from remote periods in the brotherhood, must be powerful in its effect. I think the traces of its useful sway are discoverable if

Hastings, the most chivalrous character of later times, impressed with devotion for the craft, and love for all his brethren, descended from his high estate as Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in India, and within the halls of his own palace, offered the right hand of fellowship, with his parting

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we cast our eyes on older times. Reflect upon that semi-barbarism which was the condition of all the states of Europe in ages not long past. What apparent cause was there for a sudden and rapidly progressive mitigation of the rude oppressions which characterized the day? If none such can be confidently pointed out, is it not reasonable to recur to an agency which, while it is unobtrusive, must in its very nature be active? The secrecy observed in Masonic proceedings, and the rigid scrutiny exercised into the private character of candidates for admission, excited the curiosity of the higher ranks, and at the same time removed every fear of their discrediting themselves by becoming members of the fraternity. Once initiated, they received lessons which never could have reached them in any other situation. They were taught that throughout the necessary gradations in a community, and amid the unavoidable distinctions arising from talents or property, man was still the brother of man. This primary position once adopted, all corollaries from it were readily embraced. The doctrine imbibed in the Lodge, became the rule of action for the man of might in his public sphere, and his example disseminated the principles of humanity and justice to the utmost extent of the circle;—surely this is not a visionary supposition. Observe the difference of character between the nations of Europe where Masonry has flourished and those in which it has been proscribed; and let the contrast, so favourable for the former, support my hypothesis. The proof will be still stronger if you

benediction, to every soldier individually that wore an apron; acknowledging also his pride that masonic principles had been discovered in his exercise of authority. I have met with brethren here and elsewhere, who made it their highest boast that they had exchanged the fraternal embrace with that illustrious statesman, warrior, and mason; and when we recollect that the same nobleman presented himself at another assembly with the proud vaunt that he was the descendant of that Hastings, whose ancient blood and royal lineage had entitled him to contest the crown of Scotland with Bruce and Baliol, we discover the natural feelings of the man, and can understand what had tempered them. In the words of that glorious and never-to-be forgotten brother, I would say to this Lodge and to all others, FEAR GOD;

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advert to the despotism, the ferocity, the degradation of manhood in the Asiatic regions where no casual ray of masonry has ever pierced the gloom. In Europe, what were once Masonic principles alone, are so generally prevalent that it would now be difficult to make it believed that they were once acknowledged only in a confined society; yet it is well that the sanctuary for them should still exist. Our forms are only constant inculcations to us of the moral rules which ought to be observed in all times, cases, and situations. If I may have been fortunate enough to have recollected them in the exercise of authority, as you would kindly persuade me, I am most happy.'

HONOR YOUR SOVEREIGN BY PUTTING THE CRAFT.

*(From the Calcutta Courier, September 10, 1840.)*

Another gathering of the Mystic Brethren took place on the evening of the 8th instant, under the able direction of the Worshipful Brother Chalmice, Master of Lodge "Humility with Fortitude," commonly called the Fort Lodge. This Lodge has nobly maintained its place, and has for years past persevered in well doing, continuing even during the depression of Masonry in Calcutta, to add to its columns, and to support the true principles of the Craft.

The occasion of the present Meeting was to welcome the Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master of Western India, to whom all due honor was paid. At his express request, no very expensive luxuries were introduced, but there was abundance of excellent fare. A large party of brethren sat down to refreshment, among whom we observed—the Worshipful Brothers Burlton, Birch, A. Grant, and other Members of the Provincial Grand Lodge. After the usual toasts the Worshipful Master proposed the health of the distinguished guest, especially dwelling on the circumstance that he was a Mason equally ready to join his humble brethren in a bomb-proof as at present, as to mingle with the most exalted society in the proudest halls. The Right Worshipful Brother Burnes made a suitable reply. The health of the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, as well as those of Brother Burlton, and the W. M. were also drank with enthusiasm, and in the course of the

evening Brother Burnes brought particularly to notice, the unintermitted services to the Craft of Brother F. W. Birch, whose kindness and hospitality to himself personally he also acknowledged. Brothers Birch and Burlton both gave apt and excellent illustrations of Masonic principles. Other toasts were also given, and some excellent songs sung, and altogether, although more gorgeous feasts may have greeted our esteemed brother from the West, we never saw him enjoy himself more than with the worthy brethren of Lodge "Humility with Fortitude" in the bomb-proof of Fort William. As some of Br. Burnes' addresses to other Lodges have been imperfectly obtained, and others altogether lost, means were taken on this occasion to secure a correct version, and the following (after thanking the brethren for their hospitality, and complimenting them on their admirable working) are very nearly the words, in which he expressed himself in his first speech:—(*ut supra.*)

## IX.

## AT THE QUARTERLY COMMUNICATION OF THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF BENGAL.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1840.

Qu' on puisse dire de chacun de nous et de tous les membres qui tiennent á l'institution maçonnique: Le pauvre est sûr de leur souvenir, l'infortuné de leurs secours, le faible de leur appui, le riche de leurs bons exemples, le gouvernement de leur soumission, l'autorité de leur obéissance, la probité de leur estime, la vertu de leurs hommages, la religion de leur respect, l'Eterne de leur adoration!

JOLY.

Eh! combien nos détracteurs n'auraient-ils pas á rougir, si connaissant nos principes et nos mœurs, ils savaient que le bonheur d'un Maçon naît du bonheur de tous les hommes.

BACON DE LA CHEVALERIE.

The R. W. Brother Burnes, having been called on to give the third toast of obligation,—to all poor and distressed Masons throughout the globe,—addressed the lodge nearly as follows:—

Of all the symbols illustrative of the mystical learning of the Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians which have been handed down to us through our ancient brethren, none is more remarkable than that of the LADDER, which, figuratively extending from earth to sky, has, from the most remote

antiquity, presented to the speculative moralist, an appropriate emblem of that gradual rise in the scale of virtue, by which the just man and upright mason may make his ascent, slowly but surely, to the abodes of everlasting bliss; each succeeding step implying a loftier stage in the realization of true knowledge, and, consequently, a nearer approach to perfection, and reward. In our figurative ladder, the stage next to heaven is CHARITY, for it is justly held to be an established tenet of the craft that the brother, who has attained that never failing virtue, has arrived at the earthly summit of the masonic profession. Charity is the wisdom, strength, and beauty of our system,—it is the golden trowel that applies, as well as the sweet cement that unites, our sympathies in fellowship and good will to the whole human race,—and it is the only stable key-stone of that stupendous arch, which upholds the splendid edifice of our brotherly affection, and fidelity. Masonry, pure morality and charity are one and indivisible; and the perfect resemblance, or rather identity, of the fair sister-hood is happily traced in the portrait of the masonic bard:—

To raise the weak, restrain the strong,
To chase the tear from sorrow's eye,
To aid the right, and check the wrong,
And bid the weary cease to sigh,—

To soothe the orphan's mournful cry,
A brother help, where'er he be,
To love all men beneath the sky,
This is the bond of Masonrie!—

Linked together by the bond described in these lines,—which, I am proud to say, gained for their modest author, on my recommendation, the honorable distinction of poet laureat to the craft in Scotland, in succession to Burns, and the Ettrick Shepherd,—we possess amongst us a principle and a power, to use an eloquent expression of Brother David Drummond's, "sufficient to bind and sustain the entire family of man in one vast chain of fraternity, and love." When we cease to produce the good fruits of substantial charity, and the faded standard of the craft shall remain only as a rallying-post for the vain and sensual, thronging round it for the ribbands and festivity that may, for a while, survive the legitimate intents of our Order, then the glory of masonry, like the life of the blasted and shivered tree, will have departed; its wisdom, like the mysteries of the Greeks, will have become foolishness, its strength be prostrate, its beauty gone; and then, but not till then, let the enlightened man turn from it, as the tottering and polluted relict of a once glorious sanctuary, erected for divine, but desecrated, as were some of the fairest

and most sacred fabrics of old, to profane and impious objects; prostituted like the temple of the Constantines, and the palace of the Cæsars; and deserving only to moulder amongst the rubbish of the astrology, witchcraft, and mummeries, of a bye past, and unhonored generation.

But I anticipate no such catastrophe: The mighty problem is far from being solved whether the advance of intellectual light is to bring with it a rapid increase of charity amongst men; and until it does so, the rock on which our triumphant brethren have displayed its banner, amidst the unceasing persecutions, and the shocks of ages, will never be abandoned by the lovers of their species. Nor, judging of the future from the past, need we apprehend, that the enforcement of the all imperative obligation of charity will be neglected by the brethren, who, after we have "fretted and fumed our hour upon the stage," will succeed to our emblems and duties, since it has ever been one of those land-marks that have been most scrupulously regarded. As we stamp the acquisition of charity, the highest ambition and reach of the polished and accomplished master, so do we make its inculcation the first striking lesson to the unpolished, and untutored recipient, who is required to place himself in the posi-

tion of the poor and needy; to do as he would then be done by, and conceiving the inexpressible delight of succouring the distressed, ever to relieve them, in accordance with the plumb-line of his conscience, to the utmost of his ability. But he is instructed in far more than this, for, being taught to view charity in its wide and comprehensive sense, and to see in every son of Adam a brother of the dust, it is demanded of him that he should forsake all presumption and prejudice, and putting himself on the level with his fellow-men, have compassion on their errors and failings; to try them, it may be, by the square of justice, and the rule of truth; but to restrain his own judgments within the compass of mercy; and, constantly reflecting on the difficulties that may have beset his own endeavours to keep within the prescribed circle of innocency, never to have unimpressed upon his mind the masonic sentiment, which presents itself most vividly to me in the words of the poet,

> Oh! what are we
> Frail creatures as we are, that we should sit
> In judgment, man on man; and what were we,
> If the All-Merciful should mete to us,
> With the same rigorous measure, wherewithal
> Sinner to sinner metes!

ciples, but dear to us as having descended through a succession of brethren from the mist of ages, have been maintained with more imposing solemnity, taste, and decorum. In pointing therefore to the Worshipful Master of this Lodge, as a faithful and worthy brother, I feel also, that I may well seek a climax to my feeble but earnest eulogium of the craft in his own vigorous and exquisite lines :

All hail to thee Masonry! fairest and best!
Thou spirit that set'st man's best feeling in motion,
Thou truest of bonds, that stand'st firm to the test,
Thro' the perils of war, and the dangers of ocean!
Who works on the square, must be honest and fair;
Who keeps within compass, no error can share,
And such, the true Mason, whose craft's-skill alone,
Makes him even his life, as he evens the stone.

But those who have studied human nature, and read history aright will concur with me, that scarcely any system of enlightenment, however transcendent and glorious in the end it has proved to be, has ever forced its way in this dull world of ours, thro' the gloom of prejudice or ignorance, simply by the strength and purity of its own tenets and deserts Without examples from religion or politics, subjects justly excluded from this assembly, as tending to produce discord and unkindness, it will I doubt not, be allowed that instruments, nay the most active and zealous instruments and apostles, have

ever been indispensible for the furtherance and dissemination of the best of causes, even when the bright radiance of their principles shone forth to the eyes of men. Masonry in particular has ever demanded and required the strenuous support of her votaries. To the uninitiated the Tree of our knowledge can only be known by its fruits; and although "deeds not words" is the general cry amongst men, in respect both to communities and individuals, yet by a strange exception and inconsistency, the unenlightened turn upon us, endeavouring to depreciate the practice, and under-value the principles, because they cannot obtain the words, of masonic brethren. It is certainly against us also, that open as the Portals of our Temple are to all worthy men, they are shut to the fairest, purest, and most amiable portion of the human race, whose exclusion may perhaps be accounted for by our ancient brethren, the founders of our science, conceiving that as woman issues from the hand of nature more smooth and polished, she less requires the application of our speculative emblems, than ourselves. It is for reasons such as these, my brethren, that Masonry notwithstanding its intrinsic worth, has faded as well as flourished; and that it must ever owe its prosperity not only to its own good deeds, but to the efforts and example, of well-tried, moral, and intellectual men, who, besides being its professors, can also

shed a lustre on its character by the station they occupy, and the respect they enjoy, in the various circles of general society in which they move. It is to the well directed influence of such men now, that we must attribute the enthusiastic impulse that has been lately given to the craft in Calcutta, exciting aged masons to resume their ensigns, and men of the highest attainments like brother O'Shaughnessy and others, to present themselves as proselytes. In addressing the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal and on other occasions, I have already presumed to offer my humble tribute to some of those eminent individuals to whom this triumphant result is to be ascribed; at present, I shall but refer to one of them, and when I asseverate that the utmost stretch of cultivated intellect refined even to poetic inspiration, the most enthusiastic zeal, the most exemplary moral conduct, and the most exalted bearing of gentleman-like deportment, aided by the non-masonic but nevertheless invaluable advantage of an honored position in social life, have all been brought into action in the cause of masonry by the Worshipful Master of this Lodge, I leave you to contemplate what may be the effect for good of such a combination, and the extent to which the Craft is indebted to brother Henry Torrens, while I call on you to prove your respect and brotherly love for him by enthusiasti-

cally re-echoing my sentiment, that success, happiness and prosperity may ever attend him.

At this Meeting Brother W. H. Hamerton favored the brethren with the following from amongst his Masonic lyrics :—

SAY, WHY SHOULD'ST THOU BLAME ME.

Say, why should'st thou blame me, and thus disapprove
Of Free-masonry's lore? when there's nought that I see
In the order—truth, honor, grace, beauty or love,
But reflects all these charms that beam brightly in thee.

When from thy belov'd presence a moment away,
To the halls of the brother, at evening I roam,
'Tis not hoping for higher enjoyment I stray,
But, to come the more fondly to thee, love, and home.

Shall I tell thee a secret?—smile on, love, but know,
That Free-masonry teaches this lesson to me,
To be true to my brother in weal or in woe,
And remain ever faithful and kind, love, to thee.

When this heart shall be cold that adored thee in life,
And the arm which now clasps thee no more can defend,
Though the Mason be lost to his once happy wife,
Still, some brother will prove the sad widow's true friend.
Then, why should'st thou blame me, &c.

(*From the Bengal Hurkaru, August* 31, 1840.)

The Brethren of St. John's Lodge, gave an entertainment to the most excellent and R. W. Brother James Burnes, at Free Mason' Hall, on the 29th instant. About eighty of the most distinguished Brethren in Calcutta

were present on the occasion, including the Venerable Brother Blacquiere, the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, V. W. Brother Sir Edward Ryan, and V. W. Brother Burlton. The feast of reason and the flow of soul prevailed, and dulcet song, also, tended to promote and complete the harmony of the evening. Brother Henry Torrens, sang "The Welcome to the Rt. W. Brother James Burnes, K. H." composed by himself, and Brother Hamerton favored the company with his "Let's welcome the hour," which so pleased the brethren, that he was obliged to sing it a second time to satisfy them.

Several exquisite speeches were made, particularly by the Rt. Worshipful Provincial Grand Master of Bombay and Brother David Drummond, and the spring of wit and mirth was kept up till midnight, when the Brethren separated, all quite delighted with the entertainment of the evening, which was greatly promoted by the bland attentions of the Worshipful Brother Henry Torrens.

## VIII.

### TO THE LODGE HUMILITY WITH FORTITUDE.

W. M. J. CHAUNCE.

SEPT. 8, 1840.

J'ai reçu avec plaisir, mes trés-chers Fréres, votre lettre. Je sais apprécier sincérement l'expression de votre zéle ardent pour cet ordre illustre dont je me fais honneur d'être en Suéde et le protecteur et le premier membre.

BERNADOTTE.

Je prie le Grand-Orient d'agréer mes vœux et mes souhaits pour l'union, la paix, le bonheur et la prospérité des Macons.

MARECHAL MACDONALD.

Employez, trés-chers Freres, vos momens á propager nos principes ; soyez utiles á l'humanité, bannissez tout esprit de parti. Que l'union la plus parfaite soit la base de l'édifice dans lequel le moment le plus heureux de ma vie me rèunit á vous ! Qu'une amitié sincére soit le sceau du serment que nous contractons tous en prèsence du Grand-Architecte de l'Univers !

MARECHAL KELLERMANN.

It is in Lodges such as this that the brother not yet imbued with Masonic feelings may obtain profit and the instructed Mason may gather a fresh incentive to exertion, for it is here that Masonry especially presents herself in her genuine and fairest aspect, namely, as a pure aristocracy of morals

totally independent of, and indifferent to distinctions in society, but into which every true-hearted and honest man, who is well and worthily recommended, may seek admission, and secure a place. Having once done so, he becomes the Brother of the most affluent Mason, and meets him on the square; the simple question being then, who shall best work, and who shall best agree.

At the last assemblage which I attended at Bombay, I had occasion on taking leave of an excellent Brother, Conductor William Wellis, who was quitting India to comment, in presence of about fifty brethren, on his honourable career of nearly twenty-five years as a mason and a Soldier, as known to myself, and certified by his superior officers then in Lodge. The feelings of the brethren went with me; those of the worthy brother were overcome; and a scene ensued which would have touched the hearts of most men. Amongst those chiefly interested was an accomplished scholar and mason lately arrived from Europe, Brother George Buist, the Editor of the *Bombay Times*, who entering intensely into the emotions of the old soldier, expressed his conviction of the inestimable benefits of Masonry, particularly in India, where the high and the humble of the public services might thus meet together for reciprocal gratification, without the fear of assumption on the one side, or loss of dignity on the other.

I was pleased to find my opinions confirmed by so observant an individual, for I have ever fancied Masonry as a sort of rosy wreath that might be entwined round the iron pillar of military discipline, imparting a grace and beauty to its form, without impairing its integrity or strength; since it is a system utterly abhorrent of oppression and insubordination, encouraging attachment to the officer, and even devotion, should he be a brother, at the same time that it enhances the self-respect of the soldier by making him feel that in consequence of his moral worth, there is a point at which he and his military superior may be on the level, where the good qualities of both may become prominently known to each, and where neither would obtain a place unless under the tongue of good report, well vouched for, and true.

The misapprehension under which even some intelligent men labour, that *any* person may enter Masonry, is as remarkable as that which induces the uninitiated to believe that the workings of our order consist only of festive entertainments, the conviviality which *follows* our labours being, in fact, peculiar to, and one of the customs of, our nation, for I have attended numerous masonic meetings on the continent of Europe, and never saw any refreshment introduced. I need not say here that there is invariably a most rigid scrutiny into the

One of the lesser obligations of charity in our practice, is the toast I have to propose, which, as with every thing else in masonry, is intended to convey its lesson, reminding us, even in the full tide of festivity, like the veiled skeleton at the revels of the Egyptians, of the instability of all human enjoyment. Surrounded by every luxury, we are now required to suspend our smiles; and by a silent and solemn formality to recall to memory all our poor and suffering brethren throughout the globe, to reflect on our compact with them, and since we cannot relieve their distresses, to invoke the blessing of our everlasting Master on their lot. This is more impressive when there is gap in our own circle, occasioned by the absence of a brother in distress; and it becomes deeply affecting, when, as at present, we know that an esteemed and faithful functionary of this Provincial Grand Lodge,—a steady, determined, and uncompromising servant of our Order,—one who has devoted the indomitable energies which have descended to him, from the ardent and enduring race of the flood and mountain from which he is sprung, to the advancement of its interest, lies bowed down with domestic affliction, and heart-stricken by the same shaft of the great Leveller which has robbed him of his first-born.

It is the feeling of all present that I should place Brother Alexander Grant foremost amongst those distressed masons, whom we pray Heaven to comfort. I offered him my feeble consolations as became me, and it was gratifying to me to learn in return, that in the hour of his sorrow, the warm sympathy of his brethren had been as balm to his wounded spirit; and that masonic principles had been his anchor and his hope, teaching him to bow with humility, resignation, and fortitude to the will of Him whose all-seeing eye is never withdrawn from us.

(*From the Bengal Hurkaru, September* 24, 1840.)

A splendid meeting of the dignitaries of the craft took place at Freemason's Hall, on the evening of the 22d instant. Amongst those present were the R. W. J. Grant, P. G. M. for Bengal, R. W. J. Burnes, K. H., P. G. M. for Bombay, the R. W. Brothers Blacquiere and Sir Ed. Ryan, Brothers Burlton, Henderson, F. W. Birch, Bagshaw, Torrens, Leith, Cragg, King, Chew, Strong and other officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge, besides the Masters and Wardens of most of the Calcutta Lodges.

## X.

## AT THE LODGE INDUSTRY AND PERSEVERANCE, W. M. THE HON. SIR EDWARD RYAN.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1840.

Il existe une société dont les vues embrassent tout l'univers. Les membres de cette société, fidèles à leur patrie, aux lois de laquelle ils obtempérèrent, n'oublient pas que, descendant d'une souche commune, ils sont tous parens; et s'ils respectent les distinctions introduites par le calcul politique, ils savent se rappeler que tous les hommes sont égaux par la nature. Cette société, répandue dans tous les états se repose sur la base la plus solide, la vertu; l'individu qui habite le nord, celui qui vit sous le cercle antarctique, partant des mêmes principes, ont le même but, se reconnaissent sans se connaître, s'aiment sans s'être vus: on voit que c'est de l'ordre Franc-Maçonnique je veux parler.

BEYERLE.

Brother Burnes took the chair on this occasion, and officiated at the reception of Brother D. L. Richardson, who gratified the brethren, in the course of the evening, with the following,

MASONIC ODE.

How sacred is the mystic Craft,
That e'en in distant lands,
With ties of true fraternal love,
Can join opposing hands?

The blood-red arm of ruthless war,
As struck by spell divine,
Falls nerveless as a child's before
The Mason's secret sign.

He finds 'mid foreign crowds a friend,
A home 'neath every sky,
His countless brethren ne'er disdain
Their kindred, nor deny.

For that vast family are taught
To form one social band,
And bear the unbroken chain of love
To earth's remotest land.

No narrow bounds of creed or clime,
Of language or of hue,
Contract the Mason's sympathies
When suffering brethren sue.

To all alike, in weal or woe,
A brother's smile is shown,
Whose hearts the same great father love,
The same Great Master own.

To one celestial Architect,
Ascends the general prayer;
They live within the compasses,
And act upon the square!

Brother A.H.E. Boileau, who was also initiated on this occasion, produced a few evenings after, at a meeting of the Lodge 'True Friendship,' much to the gratification of the brethren, the following,

## Masonic Song.

*Altered from Sir Walter Scott's Lady of the Lake, Canto II., Stanzas XIX and XX.*

Hail to our Craft which in triumph advances!
Honoured and blessed be the Free-mason's Sign!
Long may the light on our order that glances
Stream forth undiminished, and brilliantly shine.
Heaven send us happy dew—
Earth lend us sap anew,
Upright to flourish and broadly to spread,
While all our Brethren,
Echo the shout again,
"Long may Free-masonry hold up its head!"

Ours is no cottage, chance-built, by a fountain,
But an edifice founded on Charity's rock;
When the whirlwind of poverty sweeps o'er the mountain
The more shall our pillars resist its fierce shock:
Based on no shifting sand,
Spreading through all the land,
Firmly they stand up though rude it may blow;
Wisdom and beauty,
Give strength to our duty,
And help us Free-masonry's blessings to know.

Proudly we'll carry our symbols before us
Nor leave any poor brother's wants unsupplied;
In "True Friendship" we'll live till the grave closes o'er us,

Where apprentice and master must lie side by side:
Widowed and penniless,—
Sunk into deep distress,
Burdened with sorrows, weak, hungry, and poor,
The Wife of our brother,
Should ne'er see another
Long night of distress when she calls at our door.

Sing, brothers sing, for the love of our Order!
Lift up your eyes to the light from above!
O that each heart in earth's uttermost border
Were wreathed in one garland of Brotherly Love!
O that some goodly fruit,
Worthy such noble root,
Oft from "True Friendships" rich branches may fall;
So would each brother then,
Say with a loud Amen,
"The Great Architect's blessing remain with us all!"

*(From the Calcutta Courier, September 26, 1840.)*

The Lodge Industry and Perseverance (W. M. Sir Edward Ryan) has held two meetings within the last week for the admission of a large number of candidates into the craft. The meeting of the evening before last was particularly interesting, from two of the candidates being Captains D. L. Richardson and Boileau, and from the circumstance that the R. Worshipful Brother Burnes, as a special compliment to the worth and attainments of the amiable and gifted D. L. R. took the chair of the Lodge and officiated at his reception. In the course of the evening the new Brother Richardson delighted the

Brethren by reading a beautiful Masonic Ode, composed by him many years ago. Several speeches were made, and Brother Burlton in particular made a most eloquent address, conveying a fervent eulogium of R. W. Brother Burnes who had quitted the Lodge, at the conclusion of Brother Richardson's reception, to fulfil some pressing engagement. The evening passed off delightfully.

## XI.

## TO THE LODGE STAR IN THE EAST, R. W. M. W. C. BLACQUIERE.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1840.

Travailler au bonheur de l'espece humaine, tel fut toujours l'objet de la Maconnerie. Dans les premiers temps, elle èclaira les hommes. Bientôt apres elle leur donna le courage de souffrir, de braver les persècutions; dans des temps plus modernes, elle leur apprit á se connaître et á s'estimer.

PEYRE DE CHATEAUNEUF.

La Maçonnerie est l'ètude des sciences et la pratique de toutes les vertus. Un Macon est un homme libre, fidele aus loix, le frére des hommes, l'ami des mœurs. Un Macon a le dèsir de l'estime publique, la passion de la vraie gloire, les sentimens gènèreux de l'honneur.

FELIX MAINGUY.

Que l'univers sache et que nos actions proclament que les questions religieuses et politiques sont bannies de nos assemblées; que nos réglemens interdisent les controverses théologiques, comme les discussions diplomatiques; qu'il n'est dans nos temples qu'un langage, celui de la bienfaisance.

DOISY.

I have been deeply interested, Right Worshipful and Revered Brother, in the events of this evening. It becomes not a mason of yesterday to comment on your proceedings, but I may still congratulate myself, that I have been present to see you, un-

changed in feeling, and scarcely altered in strength, again work with such admirable precision the distinguished Lodge, "Star in the East," over which you ruled half a century ago, and over which, I trust, you will long preside as a precious and honored link between the brethren of a past generation and ourselves.

The resuscitation of this venerable Lodge is the more highly to be prized at a time when our Order is suffering under the chastening hand of Providence. It is true, that the days when our brethren were delivered to the flames have passed away; and that the Inquisition which perpetrated such atrocities, remains but to occupy a foul and blood-stained page in the bygone history of man. The fulminations of the Vatican have also ceased to reach us, except through the feeble note of the Archbishop of Mechlin and his Clergy, who last year denounced Free Masonry as an error damning to the soul, and prohibited the poor from receiving alms from our tainted brethren,—precisely in the true spirit of the famous Bulls, In Eminenti, and Providas Romanorum, of Popes Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. which anathematized our Craft for one of the reasons that every philanthropic man loves it most, namely, that it welcomes within a circle all true worshippers of God,—*quod in conventiculis, cujuscumque religionis ac sectæ homines*

*invicem consociantur, qua ex re satis patet quam magna pernicies catholicæ religioni perituti inferri valeat*,—and adjudged its members to be struck off as rotten branches from the Church from the mere fact of belonging to it,—*ad penam excommunicationis ipso facto incurrendam*—and to be handed over to the tender mercies of the secular arm.

These follies have perished like their authors, and in our own day we have had reason even to believe that an illustrious prelate of the Romish Church, the late Cardinal Gonsalvi, the minister of the amiable Pope Pius VI., was numbered amongst our brotherhood. To the delusion of the Belgian priests, we must extend our charity. It was not to their tiny denunciations that I referred, but to the destruction that has been lately dealt amongst the dignitaries of our Order. Scarcely a mail arrives without bringing intelligence, that another pillar of the Temple is prostrate. Besides Brother Sir Sidney Smith, no less than the three successive Deputy Grand Masters of England have passed from our earthly stage within these few months. The Earl of Zetland I only knew through the circulars of the Grand Lodge, which pronounced him a venerated and lamented brother, but with the other three I was well acquainted. To the open and generous character of the British naval officer,

Lord John Churchill had superadded a marked sense of Masonic obligation which endeared him to all. The memory of the "Chevalier d'honneur de la Chretientè," the hero of Acre, the valiant Sir Sidney Smith, needs no embellishment that I could bestow;—his fame will descend with that of Napoleon to the latest ages. He was a devoted follower of our mysteries, and to him I am indebted for an introduction to the high continental grades. To his last hour he was engaged in schemes to prevent the loss of life by shipwreck, and for the improvement of mankind.

But the most fell stroke of the Great Leveller has been his last! Could he not have spared the choicest ornament of our Craft, still in the freshness of its lustre; the most eloquent expounder* of our precepts since the Marquess of Hastings; the most brilliant

* At the last Festival of the Grand Lodge of England which the lamented Earl of Durham attended, April 24th 1839, he expressed himself as follows:—

"In each capacity, as a Mason, as a Provincial Grand Master, or as Grand Officer of England, in which my name has been enrolled as a member of the Order, it has been my undeviating study to maintain the discipline of the Craft—to support the authority of those appointed to preside over its welfare—to promote the union and harmony of all classes of society—and to carry out the admirable principles it inculcates in all their purity and universal excellence. No where can this be done so effectually as in Freemasonry, which comprises without distinction all sections of the community, without the

example of our principles ;—the beloved brother, to whom would have descended the sceptre of our Order, when it had pleased the Almighty Master to exalt, in reward for his virtues, our present respected chief to a station in the Supreme Chapter above ! The wail of our brethren in their bereavement has not yet reached us, but it will ere long be heard amidst the lamentations of our country. We must bend, as becomes us, with resignation, but the feeling approaches almost to conviction within my breast, that the loss sustained by the death of Lord Durham, is irreparable. Nor, is it from the over-

personal excitement of party politics, and happily excludes all civil and religious feuds. In no other assembly of men could such sentiments prevail, or such united efforts be made in the cause of charity, as in a Masonic Lodge; for whatever may be the peculiar characteristics of the Lodge,—whether constituted of the noblest and richest of the land, members of parliament and of the learned professions, superior members of the middle classes, or of the less wealthy but equally serviceable sons of mechanical industry,—the fostered claims of charity are ever found among the landmarks of the Order, and the practice of benevolence is as wide and general as the principle of admission is comprehensive. Knowing the God-like principles of our Order, can you wonder that I thus tender my renewed allegiance, and am most desirous not to weaken the connexion I have so long maintained with you? On the contrary, my chief desire will be to strengthen the bonds of attachment and mutual service in the promotion of principles so closely assimilated with the doctrine and practice of Christianity.

flowing of a grateful heart that I assert this, although he presented me for court favour, honored me with his friendship, and it was to him especially, that I have ever looked for advice and encouragement in my Masonic proceedings. He had been the faithful and consistent bearer of our emblems from the early age of nineteen, and a Provincial Grand Master for twenty-three years, during which his baronial halls, ever the sure refuge of the poor and wandering Mason, were again and again converted into a Lodge, and thrown open in magnificent hospitality to *all* the brethren high and low of his province, who in consequence of his superintendence, formed the most disciplined and exemplary body of the Fraternity in Great Britain. The forms and landmarks of the Craft, which thousands of us never attain, were familiar to him as household words. Nothing was unknown, or unpractised by him in the duties of true charity, whether in its qualities, of relief to the sufferings, or compasssion for the infirmities, of those around him. No man entertained a more enthusiastic, and at the same time a more philosophic view of the obligations of Masonry, and its objects. The advancement of our Order was never absent from his thoughts, and he even once gently reproved me for not having advised with him on a subject connected with it while he was Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, characteristically remarking "I have time for every

thing, and especially for my masonic labours." He had been the favorite pupil of our Most Worshipful Grand Master, and next to that exalted prince, was the best instructed, as well as by common acclamation, the most elevated, and illustrious brother of our age.

As a man, he was in every relation of private life a model to imitate, and no human being ever presented a more perfect or finished personification of true nobility of soul, and of the combination of the utmost intensity of intellectual power with the most gentle, and even affectionate tenderness. I knew him not of course in the turmoil of politics, but under the influence of that endearing spirit which he himself beautifully pourtrayed "to exclude civil and religious feud,—to mitigate without, and annihilate within, the bitterness of all controversy." He may, as is natural to all, and especially to those who, early nursed in the lap of luxury, are in the advance of life, struck by affliction, and tortured with disease, have had failings of temper, but it is rather justice than a breach of charity to declare that his path was rudely crossed by men with whom his exalted spirit owned no communion, and who had far meaner notions than himself of the reciprocal duty of man to man. He had ambition, but he was without the selfish evil that attends it, as

witness his determined and disinterested elevation of our merchants in Russia, during his mission to St. Petersburg, where also, to the admiration of Europe, by his exquisite address and diplomatic sagacity, he conquered the distrust of the Czar into love, and without compromising his own or our nation's honor, obtained substantial advantages for Great Britain. He had a passion for magnificence which has been censured as indicative of vanity, and unsuited to the age in which we live, but he ever held his princely patrimony in stewardship for the benefit of others, as well as himself, and it was chiefly expended in liberally encouraging the costly, gorgeous, and tasteful manufactures of our ingenious, and enterprising fellow countrymen.

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* * * * * No man was more devoted to his country;—none possessed fairer gifts from nature, or had gathered more expanded knowledge from his own reflection and enlightenment;—the generosity of his sentiment was unbounded, and it was adorned by the most commanding eloquence, and persuasive courtesy;—he sunk a martyr to his own inflexible sense of justice,—he would have dared any responsiblity for

good; and above all, he had within him the glorious impulse, as well as the transcendant power, to concentrate the whole mighty energies of his own straight-forward, conscientious, and independent soul for the achievement of the one stupendous object, the amelioration of his species; and which in that view, he ever directed with an intensity, resembling the force of the electric flash, to the uncompromising annihilation of what to him at least appeared to be corruption. No one could associate mortality and "cold obstruction" with such a being; in imagination, I had traced his meteor rise in the sphere of glory and of fame for years to come. Alas! his sun has set ere the meridian of its splendour,—his span has scarcely exceeded half of that allotted to Wellesley and Hastings, but had he been spared, he had that within him, which would have wrung from posterity a renown, as imperishable as theirs in the annals of our Empire. In respect both to his resolute moral courage in public life, and the fascinating softness of his disposition towards myself, he was the only person I have ever known who nearly realized the beautiful fancy of St. Bernard in reference to the half-priest, half-soldier order of the Knights Templars, that by a striking contrast, they should present themselves to men, at one time meeker than lambs, and at another, more terrible than lions,—

*quodam ac singulari modo, cernantur et dignis mitiores, et leonibus ferociores.*

To a Mason like yourself, Right Worshipful Master, and to a Lodge assembled under your auspices, no apology is necessary for thus dwelling on the virtues of a thrice excellent brother, who has gone to his rest, since it was my duty to seize the first opportunity of doing so. Feeble as has been my oblation at such a shrine, it has yet been to me a delight, and a relief to offer it. Far more I could have said, but the rules of our Order,* which it becomes not me to infringe, have in this instance embarrassed me, and I have also already been anticipated in much I might have uttered, in the

* "It is written, Sire, in the Institute of our Order, that we shall not, at our meetings, go into *religious* or *political* discussion; because, composed as our Fraternity is of men of various nations, professing different rules of faith, and attached to opposite systems of government, such discussions, sharpening the mind of man against his brother, might offend and disunite.—We fraternize for the purposes of social intercourse, of mutual assistance, of charity to the distressed, and goodwill to all; and fidelity to a trust, reverence to the magistrate, and obedience to the laws, are sculptured in capitals upon the pediment of our Institution. And let us add, that, pervading, as we do, every class of the community, and every walk of life, and disseminating our principles wherever we strike root, this Address may be considered as speaking, *in epitome*, the sentiments of a people.—*From the masonic Address of the Marquis of Hastings to King George* III., *February* 6, 1793.

public prints of this city by an equally attached, but older, and inexpressibly more gifted friend of the deceased. I have said enough, however, to demonstrate, that he was an incorruptible and unblemished patriot, an example of the highest generosity and purest principle, and A MOST FIRM, UPRIGHT, POLISHED, AND UNSULLIED MASON. Were not our Craft composed of materials that cannot crumble, I should feel that the removal of such a corner stone would rend it to its base: but mighty is the strength of truth, and we must not despair that the Great Architect will see fit to raise unto us a new column of support in the place of the deeply endeared, and ever to be deplored brother whom we have lost.

*(From the Calcutta Courier, October, 1840.)*

The celebrated Lodge, Star in the East, which was established in 1740, and which was for a long time the chief pillar of Masonry in the East, after a considerable interval of inactivity, reassembled for work on the evening of the 29th ultimo, under the able management of the Venerable Brother Blacquiere, who officiated as master during the whole of the evening much to the gratification and instruction of a large body of the craft. The worthy Brother amply verified that he had lost none of those engaging qualities which had endeared him for so long a period to a race of Brethren (with the exception of himself) now extinct, when he ruled in the same chair nearly fifty years ago.

He was supported on this occasion by many of the eminent Brethren in Calcutta including the Provincial Grand Masters of Bengal and Bombay, the R. W. Sir Edward Ryan—W. Brothers Burlton, Anley, Birch, A. Grant, Leith, King, Chaunce, Brothers Barwell, Strong, Stirling. &c. Five Brethren were added to the Lodge, and the two Provincial Grand Masters requested that they might also be enrolled as craftsmen of "Star in the East" under the Revered Master, which, being highly flattering to him, was accorded by the brethren with acclamation.

The death of the lamented Lord Durham threw a gloom over the otherwise delightful proceedings of the evening. A most impressive address was delivered on the subject by the R. W. Brother Burnes, and ordered to be entered on the records, along with the following resolution, in proposing which R. W. Brother John Grant also passed an affecting and eloquent eulogium on the illustrious deceased—"That the Lodge concurs in the just and beautiful tribute to the memory of our ever to be lamented and noble Brother Lord Durham, delivered by the R. W. Brother James Burnes; and deeply deplores the irreparable loss sustained in his death, by the nation, and by Masonry." (*ut supra.*)

## XII.

### TO THE MARINE LODGE W. M. P. MOSELY.

NOVEMBER 25, 1840.

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Exista-t-il jamais une association aussi imposante de tant de peuples divers que les mêmes lois gouvernent, que le même plan dirige, qui se distinguent par les mêmes marques, que les mêmes signes caractérisent; qui tendent tous au même but, travaillant avec le même effort; qui malgré la difficulté de leurs differentes langues, se parlent et s'entendent aisément; qui, sans s'être vus, se reconnaissent au premier appel, s'aiment et se soutiennent. Ce tableau vrai de la Franc-Maçonnerie paraîtra à l'homme profane impossible et chimérique.

FRIGIERE.

Qu'elle est grande l'institution qui tire l'homme privé de l'isolement! qui replace pour un moment l'homme public dans les rangs ordinaires! Ici le fort touche la limite de sa puissance, ici le faible voit ses moyens se décupler; la grandeur même ne nous donne que des frères aînés. La chaîne qui unit les mains est électrique; tout ce qui la touche reçoit ou communique l'étincelle brillante, du génie ou le feu sacré de la vertu.

HOUEL.

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I had an ample apology in the calamity alluded to by the Worshipful Master, that has recently befallen my family, and which has prevented my mingling in the social assemblies of the Craft during the last few weeks, for declining the invitation, flattering and courteous tho' it was, which I received

to this Lodge; but being desirous of showing my consideration for its members, I consulted my excellent colleague, and at his recommendation I am again within this hall. I assure you that I feel deeply the honor which has been conferred upon me, especially as it completes the round of festivity by which every Lodge has been pleased to testify its welcome to me, and its appreciation of my conduct; and therefore places, as it were, the crowning stone on the Pillar which has been raised in my honor by the Calcutta Brethren.

When I first presented myself amongst you as a guest at the Lodge Industry and Perseverance, personally unknown to all except to my ever beloved friend the Provincial Grand Master for Bengal, who, first and foremost in the Craft, has also, if possible, surpassed others in overflowing kindness and genuine friendship to myself, I stated that my ambition had ever been to obtain and the approbation of upright and enlightened men; and having, as the events of the last few months have proved, fully attained my object here, it would, at this concluding festival, be an affectation unbecoming our profession, were I to disguise from you that, while the masonic honors which have been rendered to me, enhanced as they were by admired eulogies in prose and verse from individual and accomplished brethren, have exalted me

in the scale of public esteem, they have also almost persuaded me to believe that I possess within me an ability, hitherto unknown to myself, of serving with substantial effect the interests of our Order. If this be the case, it is to your brotherly love that I owe the new gift, and my gratitude and duty to you can best be evinced by devoting it with zeal to the cause in which we are all engaged, the spread of good will amongst men.—But I need not detain you with professions, since those who have already so honored me, will take on trust my future conduct.

I am unacquainted with the history of the Marine Lodge, but from its designation, as well as from the representation of a ship and other insignia on its banner, it is probable that it consists now, or was originally formed, of that class of men, the chief glory of our country, from which sprung Nelson and St. Vincent. No class more engages our sympathy, or excites our admiration; and none has greater claims on the gratitude of mankind; yet none, whether from the accidents of war, tempests, or other mishaps, is so often thrown on the mercy of the charitable and humane, or, in other words, is more dependent on those virtues which form the basis of our craft. Those who in ease

'Cling to their homes, and linger life away,'

may conceive masonic institutions to be useless;

but no prudent man who, either as a servant of his sovereign, or as a speculator for private advantage has to tempt the mighty waters, and to 'dare the battle-fire, and wreck,' will neglect to obtain the talisman,—if indeed he is worthy of it,—which may open many a heart and door to him on a distant shore, where destiny at any moment may cast him, a penniless mendicant. Hence Freemasonry has a peculiar charm, founded on experience of its benefits, to many sea-faring men, and they occasionally evince their respect for it with a fervency that must be sincere. I was requested last year by a dying brother, the Captain of a ship at Bombay, to visit him, simply because he had once met me in a Lodge; and at that dread hour when the world closes, and a new and mysterious abyss opens to the view, he requested that the brethren should follow his remains to the grave, though without the pomp and circumstance of masonic ceremony. Another master of a vessel at Bombay, about thirty years ago, bequeathed his fortune, amounting nearly to £3000* for masonic purposes.

* It is to be regretted that this amount, together with the accumulated interest, still remains unclaimed in the Government Treasury, the testator having unfortunately confined it to masonic objects connected with the old 'Lodge of Bombay' now extinct, and of which no legal representatives are known to exist. Efforts however are being made to recover it for charitable purposes.

These are two out of many instances of love towards the craft amongst sailor brethren; and it is natural enough that, feeling the mighty benefits it confers upon them, they should in return be more than most men attached to its discipline, precepts, and practice.

Many of the most beautiful details, recorded in our annals, are connected with the generosity of nautical brethren to each other in the hour of need. We even know that some of them, when unable to rescue the living from a watery grave, have devoted special attention to the sepulture of those amongst the dead whom they believed to have been craftsmen, from emblems depicted on their persons, or whom they even conjectured to have been such from the circumstance of their bodies being found in an attitude so peculiar as to induce a fancy that, ere the spirit of the sufferers winged its flight, they had put themselves in order as masons. Such a supposition however, interesting as it is, and highly honorable to the sense of obligation of those who maintained it, rests, I presume, on no real foundation, since it is too probable that drowning men 'die, and make no sign;' and at all events, as our duty is to the living not with the dead,—whose signs and tokens have been tested elsewhere,—I shall pass to a more tangible subject, and communicate for

your instruction an authentic 'tale of the Sea, which was lately obtained for me from the records of the Lodge, Star in the East, by my valued friend the R. W. Brother Blacquiere, whose presence we rejoice in to-night, and whom I do not yet despair of inducing to add to the obligation he has already imposed on the craft, by opening his stores of masonic lore and interesting anecdote for the information and improvement of the brethren generally. It is simply this:—

On the 6th November, 1812, the Sloop "Three Friends" of Youghall, J. Campbell, Master, from Southampton, was captured off the Start Point by the French Privateer *Le Furet*, Louis Marencourt of St. Maloes Captain, who on finding that the sloop's cargo consisted of bricks and hoops, directed her to be scuttled and sunk. Having accidentally however discovered Mr. Campbell's masonic diploma amongst his papers, he instantly countermanded his orders, entertained him with great hospitality, and presented to him a document by which the sloop and cargo were again his own, merely requiring from him, in return, a pledge that he would endeavour to procure the release of a certain French Captain then in Dartmouth jail.—So much for the exemplary conduct of a worthy foreign mason.—

It happened however, that our own compatriots soon had an opportunity, which they gladly seized, of marking their sense of the Frenchman's generosity, for, ere a few months had elapsed, brother Marencburt himself, by the fortune of war, had become a prisoner, and was carried into an Irish port. On hearing of his arrival, abundant tokens of friendship were tendered to him by the hospitable brethren of the Green Isle; and it is to the honor especially of the members of the Union Lodge No. 13 of Limerick, that they transmitted to him a piece of plate of the value of one hundred pounds, together with a most appropriate address, expressive of their admiration of his noble conduct, and of their determination to make every effort to obtain his release. I only wish I could add that their laudable endeavours were instantly crowned with success; but although brothers Blacquiere, Sir William Grant Keir, and others instituted enquiries, with the view not only of affording their aid, but also of conveying to M. Marencourt some token of esteem from the Lodge Star in the East, no satisfactory information ever reached India on the subject. It is consolatory however to know that peace was proclaimed throughout Europe soon after the events I have described, and that the generous Frenchman must then have been restored to his friends and country, where I hope

he still lives, enjoying the comfort and serenity of mind, which the recollection of good deeds invariably inspires.

I shall not lessen the effect of this interesting narration, the facts of which are attested in the paper I now submit for your inspection, by offering any commentary; and having already trespassed too long on your attention, I shall merely remark that every thing which has occurred to night within this lodge has my hearty approval, and also that of the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, who has been obliged to depart; and I feel much pleasure, therefore, in requesting you all to join me in drinking the health of the Worshipful Master.—

The document which Brother Burnes placed on the table, was an extract from the records of the Lodge, Star in the East, containing the following minute of proceedings of the

UNION LODGE OF LIMERICK, NO. 13.

'At a meeting of the brethren of this Lodge, held at their Lodge Rooms Commercial Buildings, on the 11th March 1813, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

'That the thanks of this Lodge are eminently due, and are hereby given to Captain Marencourt of the *Le Furet* French Privateer, for his liberal and brotherly conduct in restoring Captain Campbell,

to his liberty, his property, and to the arms of his family, who, but for this noble act of fraternal generosity, must have been deprived, as well of their natural protector, as of the means of independence which are now so disinterestedly bestowed on them; and that the following address be transmitted to Captain Marencourt by our Worshipful Master accompanied by a piece of plate, value One Hundred pounds.

*Limerick, 11th March,* 1813.

'Sir and Brother,

'Impressed with feelings of the sincerest gratitude for your noble and disinterested conduct to Captain Campbell, and sympathising with you in your present captivity, we beg leave to convey to you our most unfeigned regard and highest admiration; and to assure you that no exertion on our part shall be wanting to procure you that invaluable gift LIBERTY, which you bestowed on a brother Mason, when your prisoner. The consciousness of a noble action, Sir, is it's own reward; that reward you possess in the fullest manner, and we shall receive the highest gratification if we can, in any manner, add to that feeling, by requesting you to accept the assurance of our warmest esteem, and we beg your acceptance of the accompanying piece of plate as a tribute of our fraternal affection.'—

At this meeting the following new songs were sung:

THE FELLOW CRAFTSMAN'S SONG.

BY BR. A. H. E. SOILEAU.

Air, "*The White Cockade.*"

In this same Lodge, not long ago,
I was made a Mason, as some of you know,—
Being entered then in the mystic craft
At which no wise man ever laughed—
Now the fellow craftsman's step I've passed
And have left the Apprentice's at last;
I'll engage from the gavel my hand to free,
Having chizel'd away to the next degree!

Right merrily let us uplift the song,
For the ashler true and the lewis strong—
We should honor the letter so plain to see
By all who have passed the second degree.
Since the Fellow Craftman's, &c.

With Temperance we'll crown our sport
And by Fortitude our craft support,
May Prudence in my heart abide
And Justice ever be my guide.
For the fellow Craftsman's, &c.

Now every hiram has its haft,
And each tall pillar owns a shaft,
In which this moral we all may trace,

What's capital ne'er can be base!
So the Fellow Craftsman's, &c.

Each happy night when here we meet,
With mirth and harmony complete,
May you ne'er conceive the minutes long
When you list to the Fellow Craftsman's song;
For the Fellow Craftsman's, &c.

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## 'Tis the latest sweet moment.

BY BR. W. H. HAMERTON.

*Dedicated to Lodge Industry and Perseverance.*

'Tis the latest sweet moment of this festive night,
But it must not awaken one feeling of pain,
For the hours, tho' too fleeting, were wing'd with delight,
And we only part now to meet happy again.

Should the charms of next meeting less brilliant appear,
For, Oh! when may the present be equal'd in bliss?
We can make each bright source of enchantment more dear,
And crown that evening's joy with the memory of this.

Here pure eloquence, wit, and sweet music so blend
With the warmest affections the heart can bestow,
'Tis not easy, amidst all the pleasures they lend,
To say which we prefer, when we none would forego.

Still the joy above all, that your Minstrel must own,
Is to think, when life's visions he ne'er can renew,
Tho' so lowly his lot—tho' to fame all unknown,
Yet his name and his lays may be cherish'd by you.

'Tis the latest sweet moment of this festive night,
But it must not awaken one feeling of pain,
For the hours, tho' too fleeting, were wing'd with delight,
And we only part now to meet happy again.

---

A HEALTH TO EACH BROTHER IN SORROW.

BY BR. A. H. E. BOILEAU.

Air, "*Isabel.*"

Come Brothers come, by one bond united,
Fraternally let us agree,
For in this same Lodge where our first vows were plighted
Our last carouse may be,
Drink then all you who have hearts unblighted
A brotherly toast with me;
Fill away, fill away, fill away,
Drink "A health to each brother in sorrow,"
For though we are happy to-day,
We may each be as wretched to-morrow,
Fill away, fill away!

If in roaming over this world so wide
Some favoured maid you see,
Who with Love's pure light your steps would guide
With *freedom* and *fervency;*
Should your *zeal* be rewarded with such a Bride
May your end be in harmony!—
Fill away, fill away, fill away
Drink "A health to each brother in sorrow,"
For though we are happy to-day,
We may each be as wretched to-morrow,
Fill away, fill away!

# MEMOIR

OF

# JAMES BURNES,

LL.D., K. H., F. R. S.

BY

# JOHN GRANT, ESQ.

REPRINTED

FROM

*DR. CORBYN'S INDIA REVIEW.*

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1840.

WITH AN

## APPENDIX.

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CALCUTTA:

SAMUEL SMITH AND Co., No. 1, HARE STREET

1840.

TO THE

OFFICERS AND BRETHREN

OF THE

LODGE PERSEVERANCE

OF BOMBAY

546

THIS REPRINT

IS

FRATERNALLY INSCRIBED

BY

F. W. BIRCH.

# MEMOIR

OF

# DR. JAMES BURNES.

There is no principle of our nature more active than curiosity, and even in a small circle, when a person not known to the majority, enters the room, the question immediately goes round, who is he? Curiosity indeed may be said to be the moving power that leads to all knowledge, but no variety of that principle is more general, than that which regards "quicquid agunt homines," more especially as affecting individuals, rather than groups and classes. Even in fiction, as in the every-day drama of life, generalities affect us but in a comparatively weak degree; and in order to arrest attention, and excite interest, we must have recourse to individuality. The bare fact for instance of the carnage of a battle-field excites no intense emotion—but select an individual, a Picton, a Caulaincourt, or even a life-guardsman like Shaw, and describe the circumstantialities of the death of the brave *one*, and interest is immediately aroused. Of all classes of men whose position would least interest their fellow citizens, per-

haps the medical is the chief, the very idea is redolent of corroding anxiety, sick reports, disappointed hopes, and neglected memorials. Yet is it out of this very uninteresting body, this neither fish, flesh, nor fowl class, this neither soldier, civilian, nor political corps, but a kind of anomalous compound of each, that rather belongs to the other services than is of them, and consequently is not much cared for by either, that we have selected for observation the officer whose effigy will be found in a preceding page, and whose name heads these remarks. Whatever other disadvantages they may labour under, it has struck us, that whether the result of education or of peculiar circumstances attending their outset in life, there is in most men of this profession a certain pliancy of the mental faculties, by which they may be rendered available in the progress of events, for purposes and pursuits, that, at first starting, were never anticipated. The history of British India teems with examples of the truth of this statement, as witness the living examples of Mr. Hume, M. P., Mr. Crawfurd the historian of the Eastern Archipelago, and Horace Hayman Wilson, the Boaden professor at Oxford. Many more, no doubt, may rise, since undoubtedly the scale of education is much superior to what it was even within our own recollection; and all that may be required for calling them forward to the

vantage ground of celebrity, is the waving of that enchanter *opportunity's* wand. With such it will generally be found that the field of their strength is that to which the bent of their genius led; and that their duties were in harmony with their inclinations. In professional, as it is often in married life, the heart either is not in the union, or it has been alienated by unanticipated defects, collisions, and privations; or lured away by more congenial Dalilahs. The necessity of forming the choice at a very early period of life, is perhaps one great cause of this, but "qui non laborat non manducat," and the sons of men who are born to no patrimony but the choice of the means of labour, must soon decide upon that choice, or fall into the cold shade of the displeasure of their families and friends, as drones not likely to bring honey to the hive, or to found a family of their own.

In general we have selected for our graphic and biographical department persons locally well known to the community. The gentleman who is the subject of this memoir belongs to a sister presidency, where he is equally well known and appreciated. The association of Dr. Burnes' name with masonry of late, has served in a manner as a public introduction of that gentleman, during the short interval that he has for the first time sojourned among us; and surely he who can impress

numbers as one man, and attract their good will and applause, can be no common man.

Dr. James Burnes is the son of a gentleman well known in Scotland, as a late provost of Montrose, and an active magistrate of the county of Forfar. His great grandfather, a respectable burgess and town councillor of the same burgh, was elder brother to William Burnes, the father of Scotland's immortal poet; and his grandfather was the relation to whom the unfortunate Bard on his death bed, appealed for pecuniary relief. It is very affecting to read that brief but most emphatic appeal of a proud and noble, but broken heart. "A rascal of a harberdasher believes that I am dying; and will infallibly put my emaciated body in gaol. Will you be so good as to accommodate me and that by return of post with ten pounds? O! James did you know the pride of my heart you would feel doubly for me. Alas! I am not used to beg. O! do not disappoint me—save me from the horrors of a gaol." It is most consolatory to know that this appeal was promptly, generously yet delicately responded to by his kinsman, though himself struggling with adverse fortune; and more, that the kindness of this worthy man was extended to the forlorn widow and destitute children of the poet, one of whom he offered to take to educate, and be to him as a father. This too was not only done quietly, but even se-

cretly ; nor did the fact become generally known, till its further concealment might have given his enemies a handle for invidious remark.

The philosophically inquisitive Prince of Denmark follows the track of great Cæsar turned to clay, until at length we find the imperial debris stopping the bunghole of a cask. This suggests, as it was intended to do, a grave train of reflection. How is it that out of the cauldron of earthly toil and trouble there should now and then ascend a crowned child—a cherub of the soil, to syllable forth weighty and poetic truths ? The flowers of the valley that rival Solomon in all his glory, blossom, and we regard them not until a sublime voice attract our attention to their unapproachable loveliness. Nay, the lowly daisy for the first time raises its wee modest crimson tipped head to bloom immortally. The revolutions of intellectual nature, and the exigencies of man in his various conditions, are almost disregarded till some giant rising superior to the adversity of circumstances and position, gives the world assurance of the man of genius. No subject that could be submitted to the remark of the moralist is more calculated to call forth his gravest consideration, than that of the mutability of families and representatives of families. The changes that come out of this mobility of persons and circumstances, embrace probabilities of a startling and affecting

character, wherein may be perceived as in a mirror, that the warlike baron may dwindle into the indolent laird of another generation, and that *his* representative in one or two more turns of the wheel may have to eat the bread of bitter labour: nay, historical examples of this truth might be adduced, but we infinitely prefer appealing to contemporary facts, and one of these is sufficiently simple and impressive. The representative of the once powerful family of Villiers is now a humble shop-keeper in Cape town! Shakespeare was content with leaving the clay of Cæsar in the bunghole—but may we not imagine that clay again becoming instinct with life and entering into the composition of some regal flower, or noble tree? No less interesting would it be to trace the gradual rise again into independence and fame, of those who had previously been laid prostrate by a concurrence of adverse circumstances, and their restoration as it were by even-handed destiny to that station from which they had declined.

That Dr. Burnes is descended of a good and kind stock we have seen, but he has undoubted claim to something more. After all it may be a matter of but secondary importance, since 'MANS' the gold for a' that.' The Bard of Coila had but very indistinct notions of his own descent, nor is it difficult to understand how this should be, considering the relative character of himself and

his father. Much of the genealogy of Scotland, like a great portion of its poetry, depended for ages upon local traditions. Both, however, for their transmission, were considerably at the mercy of the taste of individuals, and much may thus be readily believed to have sifted through the minds of those who had not much taste for either. The difficulty of preserving these fleeting records would be still further enhanced in troublesome times when people had to mind something of nearer and dearer import than heraldic ramifications, even much as these are believed to be estimated in "the land of mountain and of flood." Of all men in the world, in the day of joyous youth when his pulses beat high with love and poetical aspirations, Robert Burns was the last, we can well, and we believe justly, imagine, to think of crests and pedigrees. His father as remarkable a man in his own way as his incomparable son was in his—was a stranger in that county where the poet was born. He was evidently a man who had heard of, and seen better days—and who seemed as if he meditated that his race were entitled to see better than his own in that strange land. Of a reserved, stately and dignified turn, however, the bard's father was not a man to be lightly questioned on matters of kith and kin. He came to Ayrshire an unaffluent stranger, and being a man of sterling good sense, and earnest

piety, he most probably deemed that it was (all circumstances considered) better to check all inquisition into the past, than foster feelings that he might deem akin to idle vanity by making himself out what he really was, of a descent not in harmony with the condition to which hard fortune had reduced him. Who has not felt in his own experience, that much is lost of instructive and edifying lore through the carelessness of boy-hood and youth? We have our fathers always with us, is the language of buoyant youth! We can easily obtain information on recondite subjects known to them only, when we require such. Alas! they are gathered away from us, and we in vain look for that lore elsewhere, which we once held cheap or deemed that we might always command. When the day of his celebrity came, Robert Burns would have gladly availed himself of that genealogical lore which was once within his reach, but which he recked not of when following his happy course "in glory and in joy" and composing those pieces of beautiful and vivid poetry, that have enwreathed his name in the undying garland of his country's genius and fame. No one needed the recollections of proud descent less. He had obscure ideas that his progenitors had fought and suffered for their loyalty. Be that as it may, he was not a man to be overborne by aristocratic pretensions, or to be awed by the con-

ventionalities of little greatness. "The Peasant poet" observes one who thoroughly understood his subject* "bears himself like a king in Exile —he is cast among the low, and feels himself equal to the highest; yet he claims no rank, that none may be disputed with him. The forward he can repel, the supercilious he can subdue; pretensions of wealth or ancestry are of no avail with him; there is a fire in that dark eye, under which "the insolence of condescension cannot thrive."

The name of Burnes is first mentioned in a bull of Pope Nicholas IV. to king Edward I., dated 1290, in which his Holiness acknowledges the receipt of letters brought to him from England, "quas delecti filii Johannes de Burnes Miles, et Gulielmus de Lincolnia tui nuncii presentarunt." In a state paper by king James V. dated Stirling-castle, 1515, Johan Burness is also referred to as one of the leaders in a foray on the castle and lands of the Earl of Caithness. It has now at length been satisfactorily ascertained that the name of the poet's family was properly speaking Campbell, being descended of Walter, the only son of Walter Campbell, of Burnhouse, who fled to the North country, during the civil wars of

* Mr. Carlyle.

the seventeenth century, and who losing the name of Campbell, became known by that of Burnhouse, which his decendants have corrupted into Burness, Burnes, and Burns. These particulars, of which the poet had only a faint tradition when he stated that, "his forefathers had welcomed ruin and shaken hands with infamy for the cause of their God and King," have been established by documents left in the middle of last century, by the Revd. Alexander Greig, episcopal clergyman at Stonehaven, who married one of the grand daughters of Walter of Burnhouse, and by investigations at the Lord Lyon's College, and the Register Office in Scotland.

Dr. Burnes was educated at the Montrose Academy founded by his maternal grand father Provost Adam Glegg, the University of Edinburgh, and Guys', and St. Thomas' Hospitals in London. He arrived at Bombay in the Company's Service with his brother, now Sir Alexander, on the 31st October 1821, from which date his career is easily traced by an official record drawn up some years ago, under the orders of the Resident in Cutch for the information of the Commander-in-chief at Bombay, and which was subsequently submitted to the late King.

From this document it appears, that after having been successively attached to the artillery at Matoonga, the convalescent hospital at Severndroog,

the 5th regiment Madras Native Infantry at Malligaum, the three previous medical officers of which had died of cholera, and the 24th regiment Bombay N I. at Bassadore, he was posted in February 1823, to the 18th regiment N. I. stationed at Bombay, where he was also selected to superintend the institution for the check of cholera. In 1824 the honourable appointment of Surgeon to the Residency in Cutch having been offered by Mr. Elphinstone for competition as a reward to medical officers, who would pass in the native language, Dr. Burnes was the one of five candidates who was successful. On his quitting the 18th regiment, we find him commended in orders for "his professional abilities, humanity, and feeling towards his sick, and his constant and unwearied attention to his duties."

In 1825, he accompanied, as a volunteer, the field force and detachments which expelled the Sindians and other plunderers who had invaded and devastated Cutch, forcing the British Brigade to retire to the Hill fort of Bhooj. In 1827 the Ameers of Sinde, between whom and our Government a very uncordial feeling had subsisted for years, unexpectedly solicited his services, and sent an envoy to invite him to their capital, where he remained some months under circumstances which will be best explained by the following extract of an official dispatch from the Resident in

Cutch, Sir Henry Pottinger, to Government, *Political Department*, No. 19 of 1828. "The Honourable the Governor in Council will perceive, that Mr. Burnes was only finally allowed by the Ameers of Sinde to come away, under a promise of his early return; and although the unsettled state of that country has since led to their Highnesses requesting him to postpone his visit, yet from the terms in which they speak of Dr. Burnes, (who, they say, is not only the most skilful of all Physicians, but their best friend, and the cementer of the bonds of amity between the two Governments,) it is pretty certain they will again invite him to their court. * * * It is due to their Highnesses to mention, that they have treated Mr. Burnes during his sojourn at Hyderabad, with the most marked distinction and kindness, both as a professional gentleman to whom they were indebted for advice, and as an Officer of the British Government deputed in that capacity, at their special request. In the latter light they received him, on his first arrival, in a State Durbar with every honour and formality, and afterwards made him welcome at all times with a degree of cordiality and politeness which, as the Native agent justly observes in his letter to me, "they have never before evinced towards any gentleman."

The Government sanctioned Dr. Burnes's acceptance of liberal presents from the Ameers,

and also presented to him a handsome pecuniary donation on his return to Bhooj. He was also complimented in strong terms on the zeal and ability he had displayed at Hyderabad, and received the thanks of the Government for the highly interesting narrative of his visit, which, under the orders of the resident in Cutch, he had submitted for its information. The Governor personally intimated that but for the good use he had made of his time, much that was important would have remained unknown and unnoticed; the Commander-in-Chief pronounced the narrative a most valuable addition to the geography of India and the Government of Bombay directed it to be presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, through Sir John Malcolm, circulated to public servants, and printed at the expence of the state.

The 'Narrative of a Visit to Sinde' drew from the Geographical Society of France, a declaration that Dr. Burnes had deserved well of Geography.* It was published in England in 1830, and

* "M. Alexandre Burnes, lieutenant d'infanterie de la Compagnie Anglaise des Indes, est frère de M. James Burnes, chirurgien-Major a Bhoudj dans le Cotch. Ce dernier fut appelé en 1827 à Haiderabad, pour donner ses soins à un des émirs. Il a publié une relation de son voyage, Ainsi les deux frères ont bien mérité de la géographie, en nous donnant des détails sur des pays peu connus." Bulletin of the Geographical Society of France 1833.

has gone through successive editions both in this country and in Europe. The following extracts from it published 12 years ago, are creditable to the foresight and sagacity of the author.

'The Ameers are, I believe, perfectly aware of the utter hopelessness of any defence they could make, in the event of an invasion by our government. Many circumstances proved to me that "the magic of our name linked with success," and the feeling not to be wondered at, which pervades the eastern world, generally, of its being "the will of God," that till a certain period, we shall prove victorious in all our enterprizes, have not failed to exert their superstitious influence on their anxious and foreboding minds. In their attempts to conceal their terror, they adopt means which inevitably lead to a detection of it, such as the vaunting and imperious style of their letters to foreign powers, and their endeavours to impress strangers with an exaggerated estimation of their dignity and importance. Like many men in private life, who contrive for a time to cloak their ignorance under a formal manner and distant deportment, they well know that a closer inspection would infallibly expose their weaknesses; and hence arises their jealousy of our acquiring a nearer or more intimate knowledge of their country or of themselves.'

'Such flimsy pretences could never blind an individual who has visited Sinde, and witnessed the true state of affairs. Of the few walled towns in the province all are contemptible, and scarcely one deserves the name of a fortress. The fortifications of Curachee are mean and insignificant. Omerkote, the repository of the wealth of the court, which has so long been supposed unassailable, from the report of its being environed by a sandy desert of great extent where no water is procurable, has been ascertained, by late inquiries, to be within a few miles of a branch of the Indus, and utterly untenable. The city of Hyderabad, as already described, is a collection of wretched low mud hovels, as destitute of the means of defence, as they are of external elegance, or internal comfort; and even the boasted strong-hold of the Ameers, which surmounts their capital, is but a paltry erection of ill-burnt bricks, crumbling gradually to decay, and perfectly incapable of withstanding for an hour the attack of regular troops. The nobility would, in all probability, and, as is usual with Asiatics, desert their masters in the time of trouble; and although I have no doubt the Talpoor chiefs would themselves, on a hostile invasion, bravely perish in defence of their sovereignty and treasures, yet it is scarcely possible to conceive a more easy, or, as far as the people generally are concerned, a more

willing conquest, were our victorious arms turned in that direction, than Sinde would prove, unassisted by any of the countries in the neighbourhood.'

'Were such an event to happen, as happen in all probability it will, from causes as uncontrollable as those which have led to the already mighty extension of our empire, there is no district which would better repay the fostering care of a mild and enlightened management, than Sinde. The people of that country and our government might mutually congratulate each other and themselves on the advantages they had gained; and while the one was grateful for the introduction of free institutions, and a benignant rule, the other might glory in the acquisition of a valuable and productive addition to its dominions. Agriculture and commerce, which are now languid from ignorance and taxation, would gradually revive and flourish under the new and better order of things; while the local advantages of the province, combined with security to property and impartial justice, would invite settlers from other countries, whose families would recruit the lost population, and whose energies, unfettered by religious bigotry or military despotism, would have full scope, encouragement, and reward. Then the river Indus might once more become the channel of communication and of wealth, between the interior of Asia and the peninsula of India; while Sinde herself, equally interesting to

us from classic association, and from sympathy with her present sufferings, would rise renewed to claim a due importance in the scale of nations, and to profit by the benefits which nature has bestowed upon her.'

Dr. Burnes' invitation by the Ameers, and his visit to their court were evidently the first link in the chain of those great events, which have since taken place in reference to the Indus, and it is not at all improbable that had the request of those rulers to retain him, which has been referred to in the official dispatch above quoted, been complied with, much of the trouble and expense which have since been incurred might have been spared. But it did not suit the policy of the Government of the day, and it was not till two years afterwards that his brother was deputed again to open a negociation with the Ameers, and to ascend the Indus. Those who are familiar with that officer's travels will recollect that the Ameers stated he was doubly welcome as the brother of Dr. James Burnes. Sir Alexander Burnes' visit was followed by Sir Henry Pottinger's embassy in 1832-3, for the purpose of demanding the free navigation of the Indus to British merchants, and the great events to the West with which we are familiar.—In 1829, Dr. Burnes married Sophia, daughter of the late Major General Sir George Holmes, K. C. B.

In 1830, the same reputation in the North West

frontier, which had induced the Ameers of Sinde to invite and welcome Dr. Burnes to their capital, led to the Cutch Regency bringing his conduct and services specially to the notice of the British Government, with a request that they might have the power to remunerate them. He had now been nearly six years in that lately conquered and distracted country, and such was the feeling towards him, that the Resident reported, in the words of the Cutch Government, that "there was no one of any class or rank, who would not, if sick, reckon upon his services at midnight." The reply of the Bombay Government (*Political Department*, No. 427 of 1830) is in the following terms :—

"The Governor in Council directs me to signify to you his concurrence in the proposal of the Durbar to remunerate the professional services of Dr. Burnes, and requests that, in making this communication to the Durbar, you will suggest the mode in which the object in view can be effected with most attention to the feelings of the Prince and his family, and to those of Mr. Burnes, whose kind and unwearied attention, which the Honorable the Governor (Sir John Malcolm) has had full opportunity of learning, has, the Governor in Council is aware, created the most lively sentiments of gratitude, while it has established, in the strongest manner, his claims to the approbation of Government."

Nearly of the same date is a Government letter to the Resident at Bhooj, acknowledging Doctor Burnes's history of Cutch, which has since been published along with his Narrative, and may be found in a compressed form in the last edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, in the following words, (*Political Department*, No. 526 of 1830) "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 29th March, with a copy of one from Dr. Burnes, and to request that you will convey to that Officer the thanks of Government for the valuable Sketch of the recent History of Cutch which accompanied it. You will also be pleased to express to Dr. Burnes the real satisfaction with which Government observes public Officers devote their leisure to such objects of useful research, and to acquaint him that his clear and concise account of Cutch will be brought to the notice of Honourable the Court of Directors."

In December 1831, we find Sir Henry Pottinger on his departure as envoy to Sinde reporting to Government that in consideration of the long connexion which has subsisted between Dr. Burnes and himself, he will be excused for bearing testimony to his merits and claims, and strongly recommending him to favorable notice; and in April following, there is a dispatch from the new Resident, Col. Bagnold, which acknowledges that "in conducting the important

duties of the frontier" he has "derived the most valuable assistance from his exertions, talents and information, afforded by him gratuitously, and to the benefit of the public service in a department distinct from his own, and consequently the more highly to be appreciated." At the end of the same year Dr. Burnes' services were again brought to notice, as having in the political department "amply evinced the greatest zeal, and ability for the public service." Other quotations might be made from the paper we have referred to, but enough has been given to satisfy the reader, that Dr. Burnes' services were neither few nor unacknowledged by his superiors.

In October 1833, Dr. Burnes was forced to quit Cutch, on sick certificate, after having struggled with the fever of the country for many years. In February following he embarked for Europe by the overland route, and an interesting account of the journey, at that time attended with some difficulty, extracted from his letters, was published in the Bombay newspapers. He took the route of Malta, Sicily, Naples, Rome, Florence, Milan, Venice, Geneva and Paris. The first compliment which awaited him, in his native land was his election, while attending the meeting of the Scientific Association at Edinburgh in September, 1834, as a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians *per saltum*, that eminent body having resolved on the proposal

of Professor John Thomson, to dispense with the usual probation of nine months, and to receive him at once among them. About the same time on the recommendatoin of the heads of both the political parties, in his native county, Lord Brougham inscribed his name in the roll of justices, a remarkable compliment, at a time when no new commission was issued, to a visitor from India, who possessed no property on the shire. This compliment has been continued since the accession of Her Majesty.

Early in 1835, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, the Director General of the army medical department, and the Physician General of the Navy, together with Messrs. Lyell, Murchison, and Beaufort, the Vice Presidents, and other eminent scientific men having come forward to recommend him as highly deserving of the honour. He was introduced into the society by Sir William Burnett and Colonel Sykes, and presented to the illustrious President from whom he received very marked kindness during his stay in Europe. In the following year the University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Laws, *Honoris causa.*

In the spring of 1837, while Dr. Burnes was enjoying the elegant hospitality of the late Earl of Dalhousie, that excellent nobleman suggested

to him the propriety of his appearing at court, intimating that he had already communicated to the King his sentiments on his deserts, and had reason to believe that His Majesty would receive him with consideration. Dr. Burnes accordingly presented himself at Windsor Castle in March, when he was most graciously received, and commanded to meet Sir Herbert Taylor at St. James' Palace on the following day. It was then that Sir Herbert announced to him that the King had conferred on him as a mark of his consideration for his character and attainments, the Guelphic Knighthood, and, had directed the Hanoverian minister to transmit the decoration to him before the next levee day, under the impression that an Order which was peculiarly His Majesty's own, and which required a qualification* would be more acceptable than the English honor of knighthood. It was further stated that although it was usual to confer the cross-

* The statutes of the Guelphic order, established by George IV. when Prince Regent of Great Britain and Hanover, declare that "only those of our servants are to be received into the Order who have not only performed their services according to honor and duty, but who have particularly distinguished themselves, or performed extraordinary services to their country. They must also be of good descent, possess arms, and be of unimpeachable conduct. To those who are not noble, it gives nobility, and the admission to our Court attached thereto."

es of the Guelphic order in the month of January, His Majesty had been graciously pleased to make a special exception in the present instance. To this exception Dr. Burnes owes the distinction, since King William the Fourth died a few weeks after, and the Guelphic order passed to the crown of Hanover. On the 6th April he kissed the King's hand at the levee, when the warm-hearted monarch expressed in the hearing of all present, his hope that we would soon learn of his success in India.

On returning to Edinburgh to make preparations for his departure to India, a public entertainment was given to Dr. Burnes, Lord Ramsay in the chair, at which a magnificent silver vase was presented to him bearing besides a masonic inscription an intimation that it was a token of "regard and esteem for him as a gentleman."* The committee for the presentation of the vase consisted of the present Earl of Dalhousie, Admiral Sir David Milne, G. C. B., Sir Geo. Balling-all, Professor of Military Surgery in the University, John Wilson, the late Sir Reginald Macdonald Seton, better known as the hospitable "Staffa" and other eminent individuals. Before quitting Edinburgh, Dr. Burnes devoted a few leisure hours to his sketch of the history of the Knights Templars, having been encouraged to undertake

* Vide Appendix, No. I.

the work by offers of valuable documents in the possession of old and noble families, and especially requested to leave amongst his friends some such token of remembrance. The book was brought out in a very elegant form by his friends Messrs. W. A. Laurie, and Robert Blackwood, but not more than a sufficient number of copies for distribution amongst intimate friends was printed. It contains illustrations of the curious fact mentioned in Mill's Chivalry, that the Order of the Templars has descended to our own days,* and traces the history of these Knights, and of those of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland.

A great portion of Dr. Burnes' stay in Europe was devoted to visiting the countries on the Continent, and we believe that he had seen and communicated with more of the eminent men of the present day, than any other individual from India. One of the most interesting of his correspondents was the late Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, and the author of this sketch had the pleasure of making him acquainted with Sir John Herschell at the Cape of Good Hope in October 1837.†

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* Vide Appendix, No. II.

† An honorary diploma has been received by Doctor Burnes, since his arrival at Calcutta, from the Duc de Montmorency and M. Cesar Moreau, together with a letter from the latter gentleman,

On the 24th December, 1837, he returned to Bombay then under the government of Sir Robert Grant, but we hear nothing of him officially until the accession of Mr. Farish who gave him the Police surgeoncy in addition to a regimental charge, and it is to the honour of Sir James Carnac, though not more than was to be expected of his high character, that he conferred on Dr. Burnes, unsolicited, the first vacant medical staff appointment in his gift, namely the Garrison Surgeoncy of Bombay, to which he now stands appointed. But although his official career has not of late been very prominent, there has been ample evidence of the regard of his fellow-men to make amends. In December last year we find the masonic brethren in Bombay, voting him " three massive silver pillars, surmounted by the emblems of Faith, Hope and Charity," to mark their ' deep felt gratitude for his conduct to themselves, and their high sense of his brilliant efforts in the cause of *Charity, Friendship, and Love to all men.*' The happy conception of the three pillars originated with Dr. Burnes' intimate friends, Captain W. C. Harris, and Dr. Joseph Glen, but the choice of the classic models was left to the admirable taste of Major Charles Waddington of the Bombay

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requesting him to accept the title of Honorary Member of the Statistical Society of France.

Engineers, who selected for the Doric, one of the columns of the Parthenon, and for the Ionic and the Corinthian, a pillar respectively, from the temples of Minerva and Jupiter at Athens.*

What may have induced Dr. Burnes to pay a visit to Bengal, we can no more take it upon us to say, than we could to put such a question to himself personally. We only express the sentiment common to many among us, in declaring that we rejoice extremely *in* the fact that he *has* paid us *Qut-Hyes* a visit, be the reason what it may; and that we honestly hope his having done so, may be attended with more substantial advantage to himself than the mere expression, cordial though it be, of good will from the many well-wishers he has here, in a place where a few weeks ago he may be said to have landed a stranger, save to one of two friends who had the gratification of previously forming his acquaintance. Honorable as the situation he holds at his own presidency is—yet can we scarcely acknowledge that it is exactly the best suited for the display of his talents, or best calculated to fulfil what we may suppose his hopes, and believe to be his deserts. We are, nevertheless, fully aware that we risk his displeasure in saying so much, since his feelings are too well regulated, to permit his ever being found among

* Vide Appendix, No. III.

those who so far harbour discontent with the arrangements, that fix their lot, as to allow it to trench in the slightest degree upon the cheerful and exemplary performance of their duties, even though it may be far below the scale of preferment that their own merits and the voice of their contemporaries might justly claim for them. It is, we fear, undeniable, that the medical profession itself not unfrequently forms an exclusive bar to advancement in other lines of the service, be the qualifications what they may, though what we have stated already seems to show, that the early discipline of that profession does some how beget a mental pliancy, capable of being turned to advantage, in directions that may not be precluded by the prejudices of controlling authorities, for belonging as medical men properly do to no other class of the service, and yet subservient to all, it has never been, nor can it be, expected that their expectations or their claims, (we say nothing of rights) should ever carry the weight or consideration of those belonging to the least influential even of the other services.

However opinions may differ on this head—we see at a glance from the measures adopted by his fellow citizens, at Bombay at parting even temporarily with Dr. Burnes, especially those belonging to the masonic fraternity, that they did not anticipate his very speedy return, though his leave

ostensibly was but for six months. Whatever other grounds they may have had for such an anticipation, it is very evident that their high estimate of *his* character, was a chief ingredient of it. But it may very probably be that all such speculations are idle, and that the subject of our memoir may have like the noble Dane visited Elsineur from "a truant disposition," or more properly speaking, a philosophical desire to increase knowledge, and to extend his stock of information respecting a part of our Indian empire he had not yet seen.

Previous to his departure from Bombay, although as above stated, ostensibly for a short time only, a deputation of the masonic fraternity waited upon him on the 12th June last, and among other resolutions respecting their departing brother was the following—viz. "That in order to demonstrate the gratitude of the brethren, for the great services rendered by Brother Burnes to the "Lodge Perseverance," and to evince their brotherly love, respect, and esteem, for him personally; as well as to mark their sense of the unbounded zeal, persevering energy, and unwearied enthusiasm, which he has ever shewn in the cause of Masonry; that cause which through his ability and guidance has attained a degree of prosperity as unexpected, as it is unprecedented in Western India; a special assemblage of the brethren be convened to do him

honor, and that a suitable entertainment be given to him, at which all members of the Craft resident in Bombay, be summoned to attend." The masonic festival so cordially determined to be given in honor of the Grand Master of the province, was ordered to be held on the 20th June. Before the day came round however, that was to assemble all true and worthy masons at Bombay, the place was visited by an awful and heavy affliction, in the wrecks following close on each other of the Lord William Bentinck, and the Castlereagh. Dr. Burnes with characteristic good feeling and deep sympathy for the distress of families, rendered desolate by such a distressing calamity, requested of the brethren at once to forego their kind intention, and begged the favor of their abandoning all thoughts of the contemplated entertainment, an intimation to which of course they respectfully bowed acquiescence.* But Dr. Burnes was not satisfied with this manifestation of mere sympathy, but in the true spirit of masonry, he and his brethren exerted themselves with such signal zeal and effect, that in the course of a few hours sixteen hundred rupees were subscribed for the sufferers rendered destitute by the wrecks.

* Not having had an opportunity of meeting Dr. Burnes at the proposed festival, the Masonic fraternity forwarded an address to him at Calcutta. Vide Appendix, No. IV.

The reception of the Provincial Grand Master of Bombay by his "brethren of the mystic tie" in Calcutta, has been worthy of him and of them; and it was decided with genuine hospitality, and brotherly alacrity to get up a round of masonic banquets, to mark how welcome was his arrival among the fraternity in Bengal. It were difficult to say which of these entertainments was the most delightful, or at which the eloquence of the distinguished visitor shone with greater lustre—and if we mention the banquet at which Dr. Burnes was entertained by the officers of the Grand Lodge, as one that was remarkable for a brilliant reception, and a noble flow of the kindliest and most happily expressed feelings, it is more from its masonic rank claiming priority of title to mention, that we allude to it, than from any other circumstance. The occasion too, was remarkable as being the first in India on which a Grand Master of the Province had the opportunity and gratification of officially welcoming his brother, a colleague of a sister Province, to say nothing of the friendship existing between the parties, which greatly enhanced the zest of the scene.

Dr. Burnes has seen much of the world, and his manners and conversation at once give the impress of one who had observed well and benefited by what he had seen and learned; being pleasing,

winning, and of a reflective cast. It has been truly said of old, that a good countenance is a perpetual letter of recommendation; and no one who has once seen Dr. Burnes can deny that he bears this enviable missive with him wherever he goes. A family resemblance may be traced in features and occasional turns of expression and manner between himself and his distinguished brother Sir Alexander, but there are nevertheless characteristic points of difference. Sir Alexander, at least when we had the pleasure of seeing him, looked spare and thin compared with his brother, not that Dr. Burnes is exactly any thing approaching to a "stout gentleman," but he has less of angularity of feature and frame than the enterprising traveller and keen politician. The one is sharp, quick and rapidly decisive, expressive, and penetrating. The other, though full of energy in any matter he engages in, is more subdued in manner and expression, and his bearing more fraught with amenity. Sir Alexander for instance, in an argument, uses a sword-like logic that he thrusts at once, and with a masculine hand, to the point. The argumentative weapon of the other too, is 'of the ice-brook's temper' and of perfect point and polish, but is, like that of Harmodius, wreathed with flowers. Both have a marked frankness of address. Montrose, which we conceive to be rather remark-

able for rearing men of active intellectual powers and honorable reputation, may well be proud of being the birth-place and *alma-mater* of two such brothers.

That Dr. Burnes is a person of singularly attractive manners and disposition, no one who has ever enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance can question for an instant, and a more triumphant proof of this cannot be appealed to, than the warmth of his reception by not only the masonic body of Calcutta, but society at large, so far as he could become known to it, during his short stay among us. It has appeared to us that a portion of this attractiveness is hereditary, for the full dark eye, the well arched brow, expressive mouth, and in a word the whole countenance when lighted up in the brilliance of congenial social intercourse, have often reminded us of the best portraits graphic and biographic of his great kinsman the poet. In regard to his popularity with the craft, this is not the place to dilate on that head, more especially since the public prints have already made the community somewhat conversant with the subject. The two leading reasons of this popularity (and we use the word for want of a better, for it is *not* the word we want, although either the poverty of memory, or intellect, suppliesnot another) are his perfect knowledge of the forms and Institutes of Masonry,

and the affectionate cordiality with which in those forms, and institutes, he embraces the *whole* circle high and low. This will be understood by the initiated, it would therefore be impertinent to dilate upon it. Indeed it is possible that Dr. Burnes' connection with masonry, has been so prominently brought forward as to give those at a distance from Calcutta the notion that masonry is the chief plume in his cap—the crest and chief quartering of his shield. Nothing can be a greater mistake. Masonry is only as it were a tongue through which he in hours of leisure and relaxation has become known and cherished by a certain class embracing in itself men of all ranks and grades. But he speaketh other languages—or in other words his business hours lie in other tracks, where the philosophic observer, the shrewd statist, and the calm looking forward politico-economist, may meet also what the mason hails, a well-instructed, highly qualified *brother of the craft*. A more pleasant companion, or a more affectionate friend, the writer of this rambling sketch knows not (rambling it must necessarily be, snatched as the time for putting it together is from the pressure of other avocations)—but he would be doing injustice to the subject of it, were he not also to declare his regret, that his high talents, and extensive experience, balanced as these are by a fine temper and steady

judgment, have not had a more befitting field for their development than the Garrison Surgeoncy of Bombay!

# APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX,

## No. I.

## DINNER AND PRESENTATION OF PLATE TO DR. BURNES, K. H.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER FOR WESTERN INDIA.

(*Abridged from the Freemasons' Quarterly Review, London, July* 1837.)

*April*, 27, 1837.

Originating in the warm and welcome proposals of the Most Worshipful Lord Ramsay, and Admiral Sir David Milne, a splendid entertainment was given at Edinburgh to Dr. James Burnes, on the occasion of his approaching departure for India, at which the *elite* of the Masonic Fraternity attended. The Chair was taken by Lord Ramsay, Mr. Deans acting as Croupier. After the cloth was removed, and the health of the King and the Royal Family had been given, the noble President rose and addressed Dr. Burnes, in the name of his friends, in a complimentary manner, informing him that the object for which they were that evening met, was to present him with a memorial of their regard and esteem for him as a gentleman and a Mason. The token to which his Lordship alluded, was a splendid silver vase, after the model of the celebrated Warwick vase, exquisitely chased and adorned with Masonic and chivalric insignia; with the following inscription on the pedestal :

"Presented to the Chevalier James Burnes, D. C. L. F. R. S., Knight of the Royal Order of the Guelphs of Hanover, and Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master for the Western Provinces of British India, by his Masonic friends in Scotland, to mark their regard and esteem for him as a gentleman, and the high sense they entertain of his zeal and successful exertions in the cause of Freemasonry.—Edinburgh, 27th April, 1837."

The cup was the work of Messrs. Widdowson and Veale, Strand, London, and does them infinite credit.

Dr. Burnes appeared deeply affected by this mark of Fraternal friendship and regard. He expressed himself as being unworthy of so great a reward, but he accepted it in the affectionate spirit in which it had been proffered, and would hand it down as a proud memorial to his children, on whom he would impress its history, and his Brethren's kindness. (Two interesting boys of Dr. Burnes', Masters George, and Fitz James, Holmes Burnes were present at the moment, having been pleasingly introduced after dinner.) I am sure, said the warm-hearted Brother and distinguished guest, that even my kind and too partial friends present, can scarcely wish or conceive me placed in a more proud or enviable state of feeling, than that to which they themselves have now elevated me; and I must possess a heart dead to every generous emotion, if it is not overpowered by the occurrences of this day. What feelings, indeed, must be mine if they are not deeply affected by the events of the last three years brought this evening to such a termination? Scarcely has that period elapsed since I appeared amongst you a nameless wanderer. So loose had become the ties to

my native country that I had quitted India with deep regret, aggravated by a separation from my friends and Brother Officers there, and heightened by all the doubt and dread which naturally beset a stranger in entering upon a new and untried sphere. What is my situation now? Enjoying an ample share of public consideration—secure in the regard and esteem (to use the words of that inscription) of many of the most distinguished individuals in my own station of life—in terms of close intimacy with some of the most illustrious of the land, whether from their high birth and splendid talents, mighty services to the state, pre-eminent professional attainments, or an elevated tone of gentlemanly character—favoured by the branch of the government under which I serve, and honoured even by Majesty itself I stand amidst you, to close my career, with but one feeling to cloud my exultation,—sorrow, that I may not remain longer with you, and that, in all probability for a term of years, this will be the last occasion on which we shall all meet together. Even this painful reflection, however, is soothed by the confident hope that I may yet return amongst you: and although I shall then be an older man, yet my heart will be cold indeed, if it does not warm at the sight of you, and the remembrance of this board.

But what has been the magic spell which has secured this success? What the presiding star over my destiny to which I am to attribute so much unexpected preferment? My friends! I owe all to the feelings which actuate you this night. It is the kindness of you, and such as you, that has carried me on in the path of

honour, and which has given an impulse to my fortunes that may yet lead me to an eminence which you will not regret having aided me to attain. It is you also who have stimulated my exertions, now so splendidly requited, in the cause of Masonry; that bond between us which shall knit us firmly together, though seas between us roll. Confident in the excellence of that glorious Institution, and experienced in its advantages, I have with your aid, endeavored to give a popularity and charm to its character and observances among the higher classes of society where, perhaps, they had not retained the credit they deserve; but in this, as in every other noble pursuit, I may exclaim with the latin poet, "labor ipse voluptas,"—the delight has fully repaid the exertion; and besides feeling highly obligated to Masonry on other grounds, I owe it a deep debt of gratitude for having brought me into near and intimate connection with many excellent individuals, whose friendship will, I trust, only end with my life.

I can with truth assure you, my Brethren, that your magnificent memento shall ever be the brightest ornament of my board, the highest pride of my heart. My children, young as they are, are present to witness the gratitude I express, and the pledge I make at the proudest moment of my life, that it shall ever be esteemed in my family as the choicest and most valued gift. They are here also, that should their father never return to them, he may at least remain impressed upon their memory, in association with this splendid token of your affection; bearing with it the important lesson that, to those who earn the favour of good and honourable men, the passage through life is little short of happiness, the

road to distinction almost without difficulty. My friends! I can never express my gratitude for your present, which, valuable as it is in every point of view, will be especially so to me from the moral influence which it must produce in my favour wherever it is seen; nor may it be imagined that the overflowing heart need have recourse to poetry on an occasion like the present, yet I entreat you to take my concluding, but lasting, and fervent sentiment in the words of my kinsman, and one and all of you to believe, that though,

"The bridegroom may forget the bride
Was made his wedded wife yestreen,
The monarch may forget the crown
That on his head an hour hath been;
The mother may forget the babe
That smiled so sweetly on her knee,
Yet I'll remember you, my friends,
And all that ye have done for me."

No II.

## THE CONTINUATION OF THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

(*Abridged from* Dr. Burnes' *Sketch, Chap. IV.*)

But the persecution of the Templars in the fourteenth century does not close the history of the Order; for, though the knights were spoliated, the Order was not annihilated. In truth, the cavaliers were not guilty,---the brotherhood was not suppressed,---and, startling as is the assertion, there has been a succession of Knights Templars from the twelfth century down even to these days; the chain of transmission is perfect in all its links. Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master at the time of the persecution, anticipating his own martyrdom, appointed as his successor, in power and dignity, Johannes Marcus Larmenius of Jerusalem, and from that time to the present there has been a regular and uninterrupted line of Grand Masters. The charter by which the supreme authority has been transmitted, is judicial and conclusive evidence of the Order's continued existence. This charter of transmission, with the signatures of the various chiefs of the Temple, is preserved at Paris, with the ancient statutes of the Order, the rituals, the records, the seals, the standards, and other memorials of the early Templars.

The brotherhood has been headed by the bravest cavaliers of France, by men who, jealous of the dignities of knighthood, would admit no corruption, no base copies of the orders of chivalry, and who thought that the shield of their nobility was enriched by the impress of

the Templars' red cross. Bertrand du Guesclin was the Grand Master from 1357 till his death in 1380, and he was the only French commander who prevailed over the chivalry of our Edward III. From 1478 to 1497, we may mark Robert Lenoncourt, a cavalier of one of the most ancient and valiant families of Lorraine. Phillippe Chabot, a renowned captain in the reign of Francis I., wielded the staff of power from 1516 to 1543. The illustrious family of Montmorency appear as Knights Templars, and Henry, the first duke, was the chief of the order from the year 1574 to 1614. At the close of the seventeenth century, the Grand Master was James Henry de Duras, a marshal of France, the nephew of Turenne, and one of the most skilful soldiers of Louis XIV. The Grand Masters from 1724 to 1776, were three princes of the royal Bourbon family. The names and years of power of these royal personages who acknowledged the dignity of the Order of the Temple, were Louis Augustus Bourbon, duke of Maine, 1724-1737,--Louis Henry Bourbon Condé, 1737-1741, ---and Louis Francis Bourbon Conty, 1741-1746. The successor of these princes in the Grand Mastership of the Temple was Louis Hercules Timoleon, Duke de Cossé Brissac, the descendant of an ancient family long celebrated in French history for its loyalty and gallant bearing. He accepted the office in 1776, and sustained it till he died in the cause of royalty at the beginning of the French Revolution. The order has now its Grand Master, Bernardus Raymundus Fabré Palaprat, and there are colleges in England and in many of the chief cities in Europe.

After this short account of the continuation of the Order, which we have extracted from Mill's Chivalry, it may be interesting to describe the present nature and objects of the Institution, and we shall accordingly make a brief abstract of the statutes established by the Convent-General held at Versailles in 1705, under the Grand Mastership of the Regent Duke of Orleans, and by succeeding General Convocations, so far as they relate to these subjects. The Order of the Fellow Soldiers of the Temple consists of two distinct classes, termed a Superior and Inferior Militia; the former comprising all knights consecrated according to rites, rules, and usages, with their Esquires; and the latter, the humbler brethren or persons admitted *propter artem*, and the candidates, or as they are designated, the *postulants*, for the honors of Chivalry. Except as a serving brother no one is eligible even to the lower grade, who is not of distinguished rank in society, which in Great Britain is understood to imply, that station in life which would entitle a gentleman to attend the Court of his Sovereign. The Candidate must moreover be strongly recommended by Sponsors as a Christian of liberal education, eminent for virtue, morals, and good breeding, and in no case is a strict scrutiny into these qualifications dispensed with, unless the aspirant be a Knight of Christ, a Teutonic Knight, or the descendant of a Knight Templar. Should he be ambitious of the rank of Novice Esquire, which usually precedes Knighthood, he is farther called on to produce proofs of nobility in the fourth generation; and a deficiency in this requisite can only be supplied by a formal decree of the Grand Master conferring on him the nobility necessary for his reception. Considerable

fees are paid by all entrants; and members on being promoted to the equestrian honors of the Order are expected to make an oblation to the Treasury, the amount of which cannot be less than four drams of gold, but generally very far exceeds that sum. Before receiving the vow of profession, which is still administered to all Chevaliers, the Candidate makes a solemn declaration either that he does not belong to the Order of Malta, or that he abjures the spirit of rival hostility which actuated the Knights of St. John in former days against the Templars. These preliminaries being arranged, his petition is finally decided on, either in a Conventual house; or by the special legate of the Grand Master, in whose name only his reception can be proclaimed, and once armed a Knight, and consecrated a Chevalier of the Temple, he cannot on any pretence whatever renounce the Order.

At the head of the Hierarchy of the Order, ranks the Convent-General, or assembly of the Knights, but the executive power is vested in the Grand Master. He is elected for life from among the Knights, and it is declared impious to substitute a successor to him unless he be deceased, or shall have voluntarily abdicated; he may even nominate his successor by testament or otherwise to the Convent-General. He can create new houses and dignities in the Order, cancelling those already constituted, remit penalties, and confer all benefices and offices, the collation to which is not specially provided for in the statutes. He confirms all Diplomas of profession and patents of appointment, and may send legates possessing powers delegated by himself to different countries.

Next in honor to the Grand Master, unless he has

publicly appointed a delegate or successor, are his four Deputes, or *Vicarii Magistrales*, who are nominated by himself, and removable at his pleasure. After these follow the members of the Grand Council, which consists of the Supreme Preceptor, and the eight Grand Preceptors, the Primate of the Order, and his four Coadjutors General, with all the Grand Priors, Ministers, and other principal dignitaries that may be present at the Magisterial City. Each nation of the Order is presided over by its Grand Prior appointed for life, whose language comprises the various subordinate divisions of Bailiwicks or provinces; Commanderies; Convents of Knights and Noviciate Esquires; Abbeys of Ladies and Canoness; Chapters of Postulants, and Conclaves of Initiation. Except in special cases, no Chevalier is eligible for a Commandery before the expiration of two years from his having obtained the honours of knighthood, and in like manner no Commander can be appointed a Bailli, nor any Bailli a Grand Prior, before the same period has intervened.

In order that the objects of the Institution may be distinctly understood, we shall now proceed to translate a decree by the present Grand Master, bearing date the 4th September 1826, in explanation of the Vow of Profession, which has been already referred to, observing, at the same time, that the Order of the Temple, being exclusively devoted to the Christian religion, cannot be considered in the slightest degree connected with Free Masonry, which, it is well known, welcomes equally to its bosom the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian, and the Mahomedan, requiring from each only a belief in a

Divine Being, with a just sense of moral rectitude and conscientious obligation. The decree alluded to states that as the vow contains many *dispositions* which, misconstrued, might appear incompatible with the advance of knowledge and the manners of the age, it is declared that Candidates sign it under the following interpretation:—

1*st*, That by the vow of poverty, the Order does not mean to submit the Chevaliers to an absolute poverty, but to remind them that they ought always to be ready to share their fortune with the unfortunate, and to sacrifice it for the wants of the Order.

2*d*, That the vow of chastity, and of abhorring lewdness, is the solemn engagement of fulfilling the obligation that society imposes on all men to labour to overcome their vicious propensities, in order not to outrage either decency or morality.

3*d*, That the obedience due to the Grand Master, and to the dignitaries of the Order, does not exclude the duty imposed on every chevalier of conforming himself as a man, to natural right, and of obeying, as a citizen, the government of his country.

4*th*, Lastly, That the Templars are not ambitious of subduing the physical universe to their domination, but the nations that cover it to Christian morality.

* * * * * *

The habit of the order consists, as formerly, of the white tunic and mantle, with the red cross on the left breast; a white cap with a red feather; a white silk sash fringed with red; white pantaloons, buff-boots, gold spurs and an equestrain sword with a silver hilt. The

dress differs somewhat according to the rank of the individual, but every Chevalier is bound to wear the gold ring of profession, with the Cross of the Order, and the letters, P. D. E. P. together with his own name, and the date of his reception, engraven thereon. Each Knight also is decorated with the conventual cross or jewel of the Order, which consists of a gold cross of eight points enamelled white, surmounted by the Grand Master's crown, and bearing on its centre a cross pattée enamelled gules. The ribband or collar with which the cross is worn is red silk, edged with white.

In concluding these observations, we regret to say that the Order of the Temple, notwithstanding its undeniable claims to honourable distinction, has never enjoyed much consideration amongst our countrymen. Its exclusive character, together with the great expense and difficulty which attend admission into its ranks, no Englishman being legitimately eligible, unless formally recommended by the illustrious Grand Prior of England, has raised against it a host of enemies. Hence, calumnies have been propagated against it, and an institution perfectly unconnected with politics, and actuated by the purest principles of Christian Philanthropy, has been represented as engendering false notions of Government and wild infidelity. But the registers of the Temple contain the respected names of Massillon and Fenelon; Frederick the Great, and Napoleon* sanctioned its cere-

* En 1811 Napoleon, empereur, revenant, a ses idees sur l'importance de cet ordre, tant sous le rapport civil que sous le rapport religieux, fit appeler le grand-maitre Bernard-Raymond et après plusieurs questions a sa maniere sur l'etat actuel de l'ordre, sur ses statuts, etc. il s'informa des epoques de ses a-

monies, and honoured its officers; and even in these day, princes of the blood and some of the most illustrious nobles, of our own and other countries, have no disdained to display the humble ring of profession, along with the gorgeous decorations of the Garter and the Golden Fleece. Scattered over the mighty empire of Great Britain, there are not more than forty subjects of his Majesty who are Knights Templars; and the whole Members of the Order do not probably at this moment exceed three hundred; but we assert, without fear of contradiction, that no institution equally limited can boast of a greater number of distinguished and honorable associates.

P. S. 1840.—Since the above was written, about twenty gentlemen have been enrolled as Knights Templars within the Grand Priory of India. The following are

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semblees. Apprenant qu'il y en aurait bientot une pour la celebration de l'anniversaire du martyre de Jacques de Molay, l'empereur s'empara de cette circonstance, et donna des ordres pour que cette ceremonie se fit publiquement avec une grande pompe religieuse et militaire. Une place d'honneur etait reservee pour le grand-maitre et ses lieutenans generaux. M. Clouet chanoine de Notre-Dame, coadjuteur-general du primat du Temple, et revetu du camail primatial, pronoca l'oraison funebre du grand-maitre martyr.—L' empereur don Pedro apres avoir accepte le titre de premier chevalier d'honneur du Temple, autorisa un de ses ministres a recevoir le brevet de grand-prieur titulaire du Bresil; et l'on ne peut douter, d'apres la correspondance de ce ministre aved le grand-maitre Bernard-Raymond, que don Pedro n'eut l'intention de faire refleurir l'ordre du Temple au Bresil, comme aussi en Portugal ou il avait ete sauve de sa destruction en 1312 par le roi Denis, qui crea l'ordre des chevaliers du Christ, et en donna les dignites aux chevaliers proscrits par le decret de Clement V.—*Biographie des Hommes du Jour. Paris*, 1836.

now the British subjects holding dignities in the Order: Fra. H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex, Grand Prior of England; Fra. the Duke of Leinster, Grand Prior of Ireland; Fra. the Right Hon. C. Tennyson D'Eyncourt, Grand Prior of Italy; Fra. General Geo. Wright, Grand Prior of India; and Fra. James Burnes, K. H. Grand Prior of Aquitaine, G. Preceptor, and Magisterial Legate. In 1838, the Grand Master, Bernard Raymund Fabrè Palaprat, being on his death-bed, nominated, by testament, as his successor, our illustrious countryman, Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who ruled the Order till his demise in the present year, having been, we believe, the first British subject, who ever did so. The late lamented Earl of Durham was Grand Prior of Scotland, having succeeded to that dignity on the promotion of the Dnc de Choiseul to be Supreme Preceptor. The Duc de Choiseul had long been a competitor for the Grand Mastership, and had he lived, it is probable he might now have obtained his object. He was the leader of a powerful party in the Order which considered that the Chevalier Fabrè Palaprat, not being of illustrious descent, and having succeeded to the government of the Order *temporibus infaustis*, when the ancient nobility of France were scattered by the troubles of the revolution, ought to have resigned his *Abacus* in favor of Bourbon, Montmorenci, or some other scion of a princely line, at the restoration.

## No. III.

## PAPERS CONNECTED WITH THE PRESENTATION OF THE THREE SILVER PILLARS TO DR. BURNES.

### 1.

THE ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL BROTHER JAMES BURNES, K. H., P. G. M. W. P. I., ON HIS BEING INSTALLED INTO THE CHAIR OF THE LODGE PERSEVERANCE, No. 546, AT BOMBAY, ON THE FESTIVAL OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, A. L., 1839, PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE LODGE.*

Chercher á rendre l'homme meilleur, lui faire aimer la vertu ajouter de nouveaux liens et de nouvelles obligations aux sentimens et aux devoirs qui le portent á les pratiquer, tel est l'esprit et le but de la Maconnerie.

La Maconnerie, mal connue, mal interprètée, persècutée même dans divers pays, est cependant indestructible ; car elle est fondée sur les bases les plus solides . le respect des lois et l'amour de la vertu.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

It is with natural feelings of pride, that again I find myself installed in due and ancient form, into the chair

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR AND BROTHER.—I have been deputed by the Brethren of Lodge Perseverance, No. 546, to express to you their anxiety that your truly eloquent and Masonic address to the Fraternity on the Anniversary of St. John's day should be preserved in the records of the Lodge, and, if, possible, made public; and to request that you will commit it to paper, and oblige them with a copy of it for their purposes.

I am, Right Worshipful Sir, and dear Brother,
With every sentiment of regard and esteem,
Your's very faithfully and affectionately,
W. C. HARRIS, D. P. G. M.

*To the Right Worshipful Brother James Burnes, K. H., P. G. M., and W. M. Lodge Perseverance, No.* 546.

of this most worthy and worshipful Lodge; and I entreat you all to accept my heartfelt gratitude, for the ready brotherly love, and unsought suffrages, by which so marked, and, according to the customs of 'Perseverance,' so unusual a compliment has been conferred upon me. I have never concealed from you, my Brethren, that although honoured with a fair, or probably rather an undue share of consideration in other respects, I have invariably esteemed my Masonic distinctions above all the rest; and that claiming, as I do, the character of a working Brother, I naturally feel one of the proudest of these to consist in presiding over the active and efficient Lodge, which may be almost said to have resuscitated Masonry in this portion of the globe.

It cannot be otherwise also, my Brethren, than the gratification of a just and honourable ambition, to be placed thus prominently foremost amongst a body of chosen and enlightened individuals, free to elect, but under the influence of paramount duty, and linked together by such high and unerring principles as we are; and while I can entertain no apprehensions for the future on behalf of the Lodge, need I add how inexpressibly the pride I now personally experience is enhanced, by reflecting that during my past year of Mastership, no ripple, however trivial, has disturbed the even current of our harmonious proceedings; and that neither within the sacred precincts of the Lodge, nor amidst the more free though innocent enjoyments of the refreshment table, has a single occurrence taken place, which could interfere with Masonic decorum, or gentlemanlike deportment. I may still go further, and declare, that although

fully empowered by the office which I have held, to institute a rigid scrutiny into the character and conduct of the Brethren over whom I have ruled, both in and out of the Lodge, nothing has transpired to force upon me the painful conviction, that even the least instructed amongst us has for a moment either forgot the solemn obligations he had entered into, or soiled in the slightest degree the pure badge with which he had been invested.

I feel this to be but a just tribute to one and all of the Brethren of Lodge Perseverance, with whom I have acted in concert; although, at the same time it is due to the great and excellent institution, of which we are sworn members, to express my conviction that none other, ever contrived by the utmost ingenuity of man, could have spread the sweet cement of unity over a body constituted like ours; amidst a society, where, unfortunately, Freemasonry is still too little understood and extended to be duly appreciated; and in a country, where although glorious examples of men pursuing the plumb-line of conscience are daily before our eyes, yet principles widely opposed to those inculcated by the level and square are naturally on the ascendant."

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When the worthy Past Master, in that fervent and earnest strain, so indicative of the pure Masonic feelings with which he is imbued, recounted to me from this chair on last St. John's day, the noble struggles in which the Lodge had been engaged, not only to maintain Masonry, but even to support its own existence; and charged me—by considerations which I well knew to imply the deep debt I owe the Craft, and the obligations imposed on me by the elevated station in it to which I have

been raised by the Brethren of my native land,—to come forward and take the front; although I did not hesitate, my Brethren, I felt that a course of no ordinary trouble, perplexity, and probably disappointment, lay before me. The pledge which I then recorded in presence of the assembled Brethren has not, however, I hope been altogether unredeemed. To the utmost of my humble ability I have attended here, and officiated; nor is there a single occasion during the twelvemonth on which I can accuse myself of having neglected my signs and summonses.

Under the favour of the Great Architect of the Universe, and through the strenuous and united efforts of all the Brethren, but particularly of those whose badges now lie before me, and whom I shall presently proceed to reinvest into office, the doubts and difficulties which hung over us last year, are now entirely dissipated. Forty new Brethren, all endowed with the incomparable gift of enlightened education, and occupying a respectable position in social life, have passed into the Craft through the portals of 'Perseverance,' under circumstances, which, judging from the zeal they have evinced, convey to us the proud conviction that, having understood our tenets and objects, they are prepared to cultivate them for their own improvement, and to the benefit of their fellow men. Nearly an equal number of old Brethren, whose Masonic energies had slumbered, have become reanimated into effort; and are now affiliated amongst us to aid us in our good works. The Lodge has quadrupled its members: and while, it has attracted the notice, and excited the interest, of society generally; it has received a gratifying proof of consideration from our

rulers, in one of the chief public buildings having been allotted to its use, by the excellent individual who lately resigned the reins of Government; and from whom, as his life is *charity*, nothing could be more acceptable to us as Freemasons, than such a compliment to the Craft.

On the other side of the picture, we have equal reason to bend with humility, resignation, and thankfulness, for, although a few of our Brethren have left us to return to their native country, in which they will have ample scope for the exercise of their fraternal duties; and others are now absent, and engaged in upholding the glory of our nation in Central Asia, where a still wider field for Masonic practice and forbearance lies open to them, it is gratifying to think that the great Leveller has passed gently over us, and that we have but to mourn the death of two members of 'Perseverance.' One of these sealed his respect for the Craft by entreating, in his dying hour, that the Brethren of the Lodge should attend his remains to the grave.

We have but to proceed, my Brethren, in the goodly structure, whose foundation is brotherly love, which we have been erecting; and if, in addition to working together in unity of purpose, sinking all trivial points of collision in the great and common aim of advancing Masonry, and improving ourselves, we admit only as participators in our labours, men under the tongue of good report, well vouched for, and true; animating them by steady example to walk uprightly,—live within compass, —and act upon the square,—and instilling into them the great Masonic precept of *Veritatem Sequi, Beneficere Aliis*—to follow after true knowledge for just and practical objects, and to do all the good they can to their

fellow-creatures—we need not doubt that we shall be achieving one of the chief ends of our creation; and may humbly hope, that the blessing of the Almighty Master will continue to descend upon us."*

The R. W. M. thereafter proceeded separately to address the following worthy Brethren, whom he was pleased to invest, agreeably to the ancient usages of the Order, with the various insignia of office in Lodge Perseverance, for the ensuing year; viz., Brother John Mullaly, as Past Master; Brothers William Blowers, and J. H. Chalmers, Wardens; Brothers H. J. Barr, and T. Gardiner Secretary, and Treasurer; Brothers W. Wellis, and J. Harrison, Deacons; Brothers W. K. Fogerty, and T. Burrows, Guards; Brother G. Kingston, Lodge Steward. Brother Blowers, S. W. having, on behalf of himself and the other officers, rendered a highly Masonic and suitable acknowledgment, the following trusty Brethren were appointed, in addition to the Office-bearers, members of the Board of Steward of L. P, until next St. John's day, viz, Brothers R. Frith, Geo. Rowley, Frederick P. Webb, J. C. Ibbs and Robert McKim.

It was then proposed by the Past Master:—That, on the present occasion, the officers and members of the

* The Lodge Perseverance had, on the occasion of this festival, the proud satisfaction of seeing within her walls nearly a hundred "Brethren of the mystic tie," including many of the most distinguished members of society of Bombay; such a Masonic assemblage never having before occurred in Western India. Brethren at a distance will readily believe that they were not forgotten; and that the evening was spent in that spirit of "freedom, harmony, and love," which has characterised, throughout all ages, the meetings of the Craft.—*Bombay Gazette.*

Lodge Perseverance feel it their duty to acknowledge with sentiments of deep-felt gratitude, the numerous claims which the R. W. Brother Dr. James Burnes, *K. H.*, P. G. M. for the Western Provinces of India, has upon them for the warm interest, and the kind and Brotherly consideration which have, in a most *peculiar* manner, marked his conduct towards the Lodge since his connexion with it; and, although they feel that any testimonial which could be offered to so exalted and excellent a Brother Mason as our R. W. M., would but very inadequately convey a due sense of his merits, or their obligations to him; still, it is proposed that he be solicited to accept, as an humble mark of the high estimation in which he is held by the Brethren of Lodge Perseverance, of a gold badge, or some other token that may be deemed more appropriate. This motion having been supported by Bros. Blowers, S. W., Chalmers, J. W., and Wellis, S. D., was unanimously adopted by the Lodge.

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2.

At the meeting of the Lodge Perseverance on the 13th February, 1840, at which nearly sixty Brethren attended, the following Resolutions were presented to Brother BURNES, by Brother HARRIS, who addressed him as follows:—

In availing myself, R. W. Master, of our first regular meeting to acquit myself of a most pleasing office which has been committed to me by the Brethren of this Lodge, I beg leave to submit to you this copy of the proceedings of a Meeting of our members, which was

lately convened for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposal made by our worthy Past Master on St. John's Day. Over that Meeting I had the honor to preside, and since it was assembled with all the formality that was consistent with an occasion to which your own sanction had not previously been obtained, I request on the part of the Brethren, that you would please to authorise their resolutions being read aloud by the Secretary, and afterwards entered on the minutes of our proceedings. On a subject which will speak for itself far more eloquently than any language of mine, what need I add. Suffer me to assure you that whilst it is the pride and the boast of the Brethren of this Lodge to hail you as their R. W. Master, they indulge a hope, that this unworthy token of their love, gratitude, and esteem, may be received by you in the same Masonic spirit in which it has been tendered.

At a Meeting of BRETHREN of the LODGE PERSEVERANCE, No. 546, (the R. W. Brother W. C. HARRIS, in the Chair) held in the Lodge Rooms at Bombay, on the 1st February 1840, for the purpose of carrying into effect the Resolution, which was unanimously passed by the LODGE on the last St. John's Day, *It was unanimously Resolved,*

FIRST.—That the sum already contributed by the Brethren of the Lodge, together with other sums that may be expected, be remitted to London by the earliest opportunity, for the purpose of obtaining the token for the R. W. BR. BURNES.

SECOND.—That the said token shall consist of three massive silver pillars, representing the three most noble

orders of Architecture, surmounted by the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and each bearing on its Pedestal, (which shall correspond with that of the vase, already presented to Br. Burnes, by the Free Masons of Scotland.)

On 1st the side—The following inscription:—

"This pillar, along with two others, representing the three most noble orders of Architecture, was on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, A. L. 5839, unanimously voted by the Brethren of the Lodge Perseverance of Bombay, 546, to their Right Worshipful Master, Brother JAMES BURNES, L L. D., F. R. S., Knight of the Royal Guelphic Order, and Provincial Grand Master for Western India, as a token of their fraternal affection, and to mark their deep-felt gratitude for his brotherly conduct to themselves, as well as their high sense of his brilliant and successful efforts in the cause of CHARITY, FRIENDSHIP, AND LOVE TO ALL MEN."

On the 2d side—The armorial bearings of the R. W. Br. BURNES.

On the 3d side—The arms of the Lodge Perseverance, being the square and compass encircled by a ribband containing the name and number of the Lodge.

On the 4th side.—A suitable Masonic device differing in each pillar, and applicable to the three Degrees of St. John's Masonry.

THIRD.—That Br. John Holmes, a member of the Lodge Perseverance now in England, and Brother David Burnes, Esq., of Vernon place, London, be entrusted with the execution of this important commission, and that the R. W. Br. Harris shall immediately communi-

cate with them on the subject, especially impressing upon them that this token of fraternal love to the R. W. Br. Burnes, should be equally creditable to the Lodge and to the Individual whom it thus desires to Honor.

Fourth.—That Br. John Holmes be further instructed to transmit by the earliest opportunity, (overland if possible) to our R. W. Master this token of our Brotherly affection, which is to be held as having been presented to him on last St. John's day, when he delivered from the chair of Lodge Perseverance, an address which must be indelibly impressed on the mind of every individual who was present; the Brethren trusting that Br. Burnes, should he still be in Bombay on the arrival of the token, will gratify them by an exhibition of it at a special Meeting of the Lodge, to be convened for the purpose.

Fifth.—That in the meantime these resolutions be communicated to the R. W. Br. Burnes, and be generally made known for the notice of our Masonic Brethren, wherever dispersed.

## No. IV.

## THE ADDRESS OF THE MASONIC FRATERNITY OF BOMBAY TO DR. BURNES.

To the Right Worshipful Brother James Burnes, K. H., Provincial Grand Master of Western India, and Worshipful Master of Lodge "Perseverance" No. 546.

Dear Sir and Brother,—Having been deprived of the opportunity of meeting you in person at the entertainment, which, in order to do you honor, was to have been given by the Masonic Fraternity on the 20th instant, but which was abandoned, at your request, in consequence of the lamentable shipwrecks which have lately occurred, we avail ourselves of this method of expressing our deep concern at your departure, and of conveying to you our sense of your merits, and of the great services which you have rendered to the Lodge "Perseverance" in particular, and to the cause of Free Masonry in general, on this side of India.

The Lodge "Perseverance" was established in 1829, and though her fortunes varied much during eight years subsequently, yet at no time did her prosperity warrant the assurance that it would be stable and permanent. Her existence, for some time prior to 1839, was maintained by a zealous few, who adhered to her through every change of circumstances in the expectation that the period would arrive, when Masonry would be appreciated, as it ought to be, and when the Lodge "Perseverance" would flourish, and be the means of disseminating the principles of the craft throughout

this Presidency. Your arrival in Bombay in 1838 led us to hope that the resuscitation of Masonry was at hand; and being firmly convinced of your entire devotedness to the cause, and of your capability from your unbounded zeal, and extensive knowledge and influence, to establish on a firm basis the vacillating fortunes of Perseverance, and to raise Masonry to that position in the public estimation to which it is fairly entitled, the Brethren unanimously solicited your acceptance of the chair, into which you were regularly inducted on the following St. John's day.

The expectations formed by the Brethren, have been most amply fulfilled; we may in truth say, more than realised. The firm, yet gentle manner in which you governed the Lodge during the eighteen months you have presided over its affairs, entitle you to our highest regard and esteem. Not a single occurrence has taken place during that period to disturb, in the slightest degree, that Brotherly love and harmony, which should ever exist in a Lodge, and which are the great characteristics of the craft. Whilst most carefully guarding the land marks of the Order, you have yet paid every attention to the feelings and prejudices of those over whom you ruled; and the sincere, courteous, and conciliatory line of conduct, which you invariably pursued, have led irresistibly to the conviction, that in all your acts and measures, you were guided by the genuine principles of Masonry. By your exertions in the Lodge you succeeded in re-kindling the spirit of masonry that had long lain dormant at this presidency. Many brethren who had from various causes withdrawn for years

their attendance at Masonic meetings, inspired by a portion of that zeal which actuated you, united themselves to "Perseverance," and have since shewn themselves zealous and worthy members of the Craft. Numbers, unconnected with Masonry, have joined the Lodge in the manner prescribed by the rules; and the records shew that during your Government, upwards of 80 candidates have been initiated, many of whom have dispersed to Europe, China, and different parts of India, carrying with them those principles of Charity and Benevolence which they heard so often inculcated in the Lodge.

These facts, which are indisputable, show how much Masonry has benefited by your exertions. You may justly, however ground your claim to the gratitude of the members of the Craft on a higher foundation even than is afforded by these facts. Whilst contributing towards the extension of the Order, you have also succeeded in raising its character in the public estimation. You have dispelled the cloud of obloquy which has overshadowed Masonry here for years past, and have shewn that there is something more than mere profession on the part of its members; that, though the order enjoins secresy in certain matters, yet, there can, and do exist amongst us the purest principles of piety and benevolence; and that in principle, as well as in practice, the good Mason is a charitable and virtuous man, and a true supporter of law, religion, and morality.

It is with no ordinary feelings of regret that we contemplate your departure to Calcutta, an event which will separate us from one who has endeared himself to us by his many amiable qualities, and social virtues.

We hope that the separation will be but of short duration, and that you will soon return and resume your place amongst us, and afford us that countenance and support which have hitherto proved so beneficial in promoting the prosperity of the Fraternity. Should circumstances, however, render your protracted absence advisable, for your own interests, our regard for you cannot but lead us to rejoice at any event that may tend to your welfare; though we shall ever lament the great loss which Masonry will, in consequence of your departure, sustain at this Presidency. Whether however, our surmises as to the improbability of your return prove correct or otherwise, we beg that you will accept this expression of our feelings towards you, of respect and esteem for your character, and of gratitude for the services which you have rendered to Masonry; which, we trust, will receive as much benefit elsewhere from your zeal and devotedness, as it has done in Western India. With sincere and heartfelt wishes for your happiness and properity, we subscribe ourselves,*

Dear Sir and Brother your most fraternally,

Bombay, June 1840.

* The above address, conveying the sentiments of the Brethren at Bombay towards Dr. Burnes, has been received in Calcutta within these few days; appended to it is a long list of highly respectable names, and it should be understood that the whole Craft at Bombay is concentrated in Lodge Perseverance, which is the only working Lodge. We offer no apology for submitting the address to our readers at a time when Masonry is exciting such interest on this side of India.—BENGAL HURKARU, September 14, 1840.

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Government of Maharashtra
on 16 January, 2016